

the expiration of the truce agreed upon during the negotiations of peace ; they insulted the Roman galleys, as well as the deputies whom Scipio sent to complain of the injustice. The Greek cities, in alliance with the republic, made complaints at Rome, by their ambassadors, against the hostilities lately committed by Philip king of Macedon, at the instigation of the Carthaginians.

Death of Fabius the Cunctator, who was then near a hundred years of age, if we can believe Valerius Maximus.

The republic, at that time, had no more than twenty legions on foot.

551.

They were reduced this year to sixteen ; but the number of legionaries was increased : for the legions consisted of five thousand four hundred men. The consul Nero had orders to set sail for Africa, with a fleet of fifty galleys ; but storms and other circumstances hindered him from executing his commission.

The hopes of Carthage, under the present circumstances, were centered now in Hannibal. As for Asdrubal, he died most miserably, oppressed by the hatred of his fellow citizens, and his own soldiers, who imagined he held a correspondence with the Romans. Having fled for shelter to his father's tomb, he there put an end to his life by poison.

Scipio dismisses Hannibal's spies, after shewing them all the quarters of his camp. Interview between those two great generals to treat of peace : it is said they were struck with surprize at the first sight of each other ; and that they stood for some moments in a profound silence. Hannibal was too haughty, and Scipio too confident, to terminate the quarrel amicably : since they could not agree, they parted as they met, and the armies prepared for action. Battle of Zama (g), decisive be-
twixt Rome and Carthage. Hannibal had ninety elephants, with which he covered the front of his army, according to custom ; but this precaution was rendered useless by a very common accident. The elephants, irritated by the cries of the Romans, and their own wounds, turned back upon the two wings of the Carthaginian army, and threw the whole into confusion. Hannibal was obliged to fight against the Romans, his elephants, and even his own soldiers. The mercenaries of the first line, greatly provoked at not being supported in time, turned their backs and fell upon the second line : the slaughter was terrible ; twenty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, the like number were made prisoners, while the Romans did not lose above two thousand men. Hannibal, after disputing the ground a long time at the head of a body of chosen veterans, whom he had brought with him from Spain, is obliged to save himself by flight,

Battle of
Zama.

(g) A town in Africa, distant, according to Livy and Polybius, five days journey from Carthage.

and retires to Adrumetum (*b*), where he had taken post at first. From thence he is called to Carthage, where he advises the senate to a peace.

552.

End of the
second Punic
war.

End of the second Punic war. Peace is granted to Carthage, on condition that Spain, Sicily, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, shall belong for ever to the Romans; that the Carthaginians shall deliver up all their elephants and ships of war, except ten galleys for commerce; that they shall likewise deliver up the deserters, and prisoners of war; that they shall pay, in the space of fifty years, an annual sum by way of tribute; in short, that hereafter they shall undertake no war whatever, without the consent of the Romans: this was surely giving law to proud Carthage, and paving the way for the conquest of the world. Rome being indebted for the whole advantage to Scipio, left him possessed of the whole glory; for she disappointed the intrigues of the consul Lentulus, who wanted to go over to Africa before the conclusion of the peace, in order to snatch the lawreels which this celebrated captain had gathered. A dictator was named, who obliged him to remain in Sicily. Scipio brings back his victorious troops to Rome, which he enters triumphant, and receives the surname of *Africanus*. Masinissa, as a recompence for his valour and fidelity, had the regal title conferred upon him by Scipio, with the consent of the republic, together with all the provinces conquered from Syphax, who died lately at Rome. The republic now began to assume that authority over kings, which she afterwards asserted upon all occasions.

553.

The Ælian
code.

The first
Macedonian
war.

To this year we must refer the publication of the Ælian law, so called from Sextus Ælius Pætus Catus, who being at that time curule ædile, promulged the new formulas substituted by the patricians, in the room of the old ones, published by Flavius. We have still some fragments of this Ælian code. The first war with Philip king of Macedon. Besides the violation of the peace, the hostilities committed against the allies, and the succours which this prince had sent to the Carthaginians in the last war, the Romans further complained, that he had joined Antiochus, king of Syria, to invade the dominions of the young Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, and son of Ptolemy Philopater, who had put his person and kingdom under the protection of the republic. The person appointed for this expedition at first, was Valerius Lævinus, who had heretofore been employed against Philip; and to him succeeded the consul Sulpicius. In this campaign the Romans made use of elephants for the first time, viz. those which they had taken from the Carthaginians.

(*b*) A maritime town of Lybia, not far from Carthage, and now called *Mabometta*.

Vermina, son of Syphax, sues for peace to the Romans ; and by their authority he is acknowledged king in that part of his father's territories, which still continued in his possession.

Insurrection in Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, excited by Amilcar, whom Mago left behind him in Italy. Great victory over the Gauls, Victory over obtained by the prætor L. Furius, in the absence of the consul Aure- the Gauls.
lius Cotta. The enemy lost upwards of thirty five thousand men, among which number was Amilcar. It is surprizing that the Romans did not oblige the Carthaginians to evacuate Italy intirely, before they granted them a peace. Furius demanded a triumph, which he obtained ; though the affair met with great difficulties in the senate.

Victory gained in Spain over the revolted Sedetani (i), by the pro- Victory over
consul C. Cornelius Cethegus. This was a very warlike province ; the Sedetani,
which appears by its not having been intirely subdued till a long time after, in the reign of Augustus. The senate grant an ovation to Cornelius Lentulus, predecessor of Cethegus, in the proconsulate of Spain. He was the first Roman that, without a curule magistracy, obtained this mark of distinction.

Scipio Africanus orders the celebration of the solemn games, of which he had made a vow during his expedition to Africa ; and he had done the same upon his return from Spain. Each soldier is allowed two acres of land for every year that he bore arms in Spain or Africa.

The Romans had now no more than seven legions on foot.

554.

Macedon fell to the lot of the consul Vilius ; but he did not set out upon this expedition till the season was too far advanced ; so that Sulpicius, who continued to command in Greece in the quality of pro-consul, had the whole honour of this campaign. Having succoured Athens, when besieged by Philip, he penetrated into Macedon, where he obtained some advantages, and took several places of importance. The consul Lævinus, to whose lot Gaul had fallen, was not a great deal more active than his colleague ; for he did not get to his province till towards the end of the campaign, and then only to be witness to the disasters occasioned by his absence, and by the temerity of the prætor Bæbius, who having advanced inconsiderately into Insubria, was surprized and defeated by the Gauls.

555.

This small disgrace of the Roman arms, was abundantly repaired the present year by the consul Flaminius, to whose lot Macedon had fallen. He proposed Scipio for his pattern ; and to rival the glory of that hero, there was nothing wanting, but so famous a general as Hannibal on the enemy's side. Like Scipio, he was possessed of all civil and military virtues, and like him, he had the honour of being chosen consul before the usual time ; for the Romans knew very well

(i) A people of Arragon, mentioned by Silius, lib. 3. *Sedetana cohort.*

The Macedonians defeated.

how to confer dignities on persons of improper age, when the want of years was supplied by merit. The consul having defeated Philip's army in the defiles of Epirus, on the banks of the Aous (*m*), where this prince was entrenched, subdues that province intirely, together with Thessaly, Phocis, and Locris. His brother Lucius, by his orders, lays siege to Corinth; but the vigorous resistance of the enemy, and the advanced season, oblige him to raise the siege. The Achæans desert Philip, and enter into an alliance with the Romans at the instigation of Flaminius. Interview between the king and the consul to treat of a peace, for Philip began to be uneasy about the consequences of the war; yet these conferences proved fruitless. Flaminius obtains a commission of proconsul to continue the Macedonian war till it was brought to a conclusion: the command of the fleet is likewise continued to his brother Lucius Quintius. Cato is made prætor in Sardinia, where his rigid treatment of the inhabitants would have been unparalleled, if he had not begun with shewing the same severity towards himself.

A conspiracy of the slaves of the Carthaginian hostages is detected and punished.

The affairs of Gaul afford nothing remarkable; the consul Ælius's army was too strong for the revolted to appear in the field.

556.

The Gauls defeated.

They waited for a reinforcement from the Cenomani, which was the cause of their ruin. The Cenomani being come of their own accord, and without any orders from their magistrates; means were found to temper with them, so that they were persuaded to turn their arms against their countrymen, at the most critical time of the engagement. Five and thirty thousand of the enemy fell upon the spot, and five thousand seven hundred were taken prisoners. Yet so terrible a blow could not intirely pull down the proud spirit of the Gauls.

Spain revolted.

Almost all Spain is up in arms, the inhabitants being greatly displeased to see their country governed by prætors, after the manner of a Roman province. Caius Sempronius, prætor of *Hither Spain*, fights the revolted Spaniards, and is cut off, with most of his army. In *Further Spain*, two petty kings take up arms, and make themselves masters of several towns. The Romans gave the name of *Hither Spain* to that part of the province which lay on this side of the Iberus, and of *Further Spain*, to that which lay beyond.

Success of the Romans in Greece.

In Greece, the proconsul Flaminius had engaged Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, together with the Thebans and other inhabitants of Bœotia, to enter into an alliance with the Romans. This general stood as much in need of his political abilities in negotiating, as of his great skill in the military art. At that time, the Romans reckoned among the number of their allies in Greece, besides Nabis and the Bœotians, the

(*m*) It rises on the frontiers of Macedon, and falls into the Adriatic, near Spizza.

Athamans, the Pergamenians, the Rhodians, the Ætolians, and the Achæans. Battle of Cynocephalæ (*n*), where Philip is defeated: this Battle of was the first time that the Romans fought a pitched battle against Cynocephalæ, the Macedonian *phalanx*, which was so formidable by its compactness, and by its long pikes. It would be difficult to imagine stronger incentives to action than those which animated the combatants on both sides; the conquerors of the western world were contending for empire with those victorious bands that had subdued the east. “The Romans,” says Mr. Rollin after Justin, imagined that if they vanquished the Macedonians, whose victories had rendered Alexander’s name so illustrious, no further addition could be made to their glory; and the Macedonians thought, that if they defeated the Romans, who were so superior to the Persians, they should render Philip’s name more glorious than even that of Alexander.” Philip lost thirteen thousand men, killed and taken prisoners, which was one half of his army; the Romans and their allies had much about the same force. Another interview between the king and the proconsul, where he seriously sues for peace.

557.

It is granted him on the same conditions as Flaminius had proposed Peace with in the beginning, namely, that he should absolutely, and without re-Philip king serve, evacuate all the provinces and towns, then in his possession in of Macedon, Greece and Asia; with this addition, however, that he should pay an annual sum during the space of ten years by way of tribute; that he should give up all prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that he should likewise deliver up all his deck-ships, except five small vessels, and his galley with six rows of oars; and that the republic should be allowed to keep garrison at Chalcis in Eubæa, at Demetrias in Thessaly, and in the citadel of Corinth in Achaia, till she had nothing further to apprehend from the enterprizes of Antiochus king of Syria. Pyrrhus used to call those three places the *keys of Greece*; and indeed they deserved that name. The Greeks were persuaded, that the Romans had no design upon their liberty; and were confirmed in this opinion, upon seeing the proclamation, which Flaminius ordered to be published at the Isthmian, and afterwards at the Nemean games, of which he was chosen president: it was worded thus; *The senate and people of Rome, and Quintius Flaminius, general of their armies, after conquering Philip and Macedon, release from all garrisons and imposts, the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, the inhabitants of the island of Eubæa, the Achæans, the Phthiotæ, Magnesians, Thessalians and Perrhebiæ; declare them free; are willing they preserve all their privileges, and be governed by their own laws and customs.* How glorious it is for a people to have

(*n*) This word signifies *dogs heads*: it was a place in Thessaly, so called, as Plutarch observes, from the tops of a number of hills, which resembled that form, ἐμάχοντο περὶ τὰς κυνέμας καὶ κεφαλὰς, αἱ λέγων ὕσαι πυκνῶν καὶ παραλλήλων ἀκραι λέπται, δι’ ἐμπίπτην τῷ σχήματι οὕτως ἐνομάσθησαν. Plut. in Flaminiō.

it in their power to restore so many other nations to their liberties! This is the period that Tully alludes to, when he says that the Romans might be considered rather as the protectors, than lords of the world (a). Philip was not content to be only at peace with the Romans; he sued for their friendship and alliance, which was granted him.

The college of the *epulones*. The consuls obtain a considerable advantage over the Gauls. Institution of the college of the *epulones*; a name derived from their office, which was to preside at the religious feasts, that generally followed the sacrifices. In the beginning they were only three (b), and all chosen out of patrician families. The first were C. Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, and Portius Læcas; the latter had been tribune of the people, at which time he carried the famous Porcian law, forbidding the magistrates, under very severe penalties, to cause a Roman citizen to be whipped with rods.

558.

The Oppian law abolished. Abrogation of the *Oppian* law, by which the Roman ladies were forbid to use above half an ounce of gold in toys, to wear habits of various colours, or to make use of chariots, either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, unless it was to go to a public sacrifice. This law had been enacted at the motion of the tribune Oppius, under the consulate of Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius, when Italy was exhausted by the devastations of Hannibal. It was generally thought, there was no longer any occasion for such a regulation at the time we are now speaking of, and therefore that it might be repealed without any bad consequence: Cato thought otherwise, but was single in his opinion; and this rigid Roman was consul the present year. The conduct of the war in Spain fell to him by lot, a consular army being necessary in that kingdom, besides the troops commanded by the two prætors. Battle of *Emporiæ* (c) in Hither Spain, where Cato defeats the Spaniards; and in a very short time makes himself master of several towns. He had a passion for glory, and was even so vain as to praise himself; for at his return to Rome, he boasted of having taken more towns, than he had spent days in his province. And indeed it is said, that the number of fortified towns, which he reconquered from the enemy, amounted to upwards of four hundred. These advantages, together with those obtained by the prætor L. Manlius in *Farther Spain*, made the senate conclude, there was no occasion for sending a consul into that province the following year.

Fresh advantages obtained in Italy by the consul Valerius Flaccus, who defeats the Gauls in a pitched battle.

(a) Cic. de Off. 1. §. 27.

(b) They were soon after increased to seven, commonly stiled *septemviri epulorum*, or barely *septemviri*, or the *septemviratus*.

(c) A town of Catalonia in Spain, now called *Ampurias*.

Flaminius receives orders to continue in Greece, with a commission War with to wage war against the tyrant Nabis, who, contrary to the treaty of the tyrant Nabis, peace settled by the Romans, wanted to keep possession of Argos a city of Peloponnesus. The tyrant had like to have been taken in the middle of his capital, the Romans being masters of one part of the town of Lacedæmon, when Pythagoras, son-in-law of Nabis, prevented their getting any further, by setting fire to that quarter which they had entered. Nabis being reduced to great streights, signs a treaty, whereby he engaged to evacuate Argos, with all the maritime towns in Laconia, and submitted to several other conditions prescribed by Flaminius.

559.

This general is honoured with a triumph, remarkable for lasting Flaminius's three days. The principal decorations of the solemnity were Deme- triumph. trius, son of the king of Macedon, and Armenez, son of the tyrant of Sparta, whom he had brought with him as hostages; besides one hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, which he had received from so many Greek cities, as a grateful acknowledgment for the restoration of their liberties: on the same occasion appeared several thousand Romans, whom those cities had redeemed from slavery at their own expence, through the same motive.

The Gauls were defeated twice this year; the first time by the The Gauls proconsul Valerius Flaccus, the second by the consul Sempronius. It defeated. is thought, that the great Scipio deferred joining his colleague designedly, that he might not be concerned in an expedition which he considered as far beneath him. Scipio's aim in standing for the consulate this year, was either that he might be sent into Asia, in order to commence a new war against Antiochus king of Syria, who seemed to menace Europe with an invasion; or that he might obtain the province of Spain, to settle the tranquility of that country, which he had formerly conquered, though it was since become the seat of war, where his rival Cato had acquired great glory.

At Rome they perform the ceremony called *ver sacrum*, the sacred *Ver sacrum*, spring, in compliance with a vow, made eighty years before by a consul. It consisted in sacrificing to Jupiter all the animals born in one particular spring, without excepting even those which it was not lawful to kill at the ordinary sacrifices. New temples are dedicated to Juno, Faunus, Fortune, and Jupiter.

The senators begin to sit at the scenic shows, apart from the other spectators; though they had been always used to mix on those occasions with the rest of the people. This invidious distinction is attributed to Scipio, then prince of the senate a second time. So trifling an affair contributed greatly to alienate the affections of the people from him.

Colonies sent to Puteoli (*d*), Vulturnum (*e*), Liternum (*f*), Salernum (*g*), Buxentum (*b*), Sipuntum (*i*), Tempfa (*k*), and Croton.

560.

Law against
usury.

Law against usury, whereby the Latin allies are subjected to the same regulations as those established at Rome, in regard to the lending of money. The design of it was to prevent the frauds of usurers, whose practice was to get the bonds drawn in the names of Latin inhabitants, the laws of that nation against usury not being so severe as those of the Romans.

Affairs in
Spain.

The affairs of the republic in *Hither Spain* were fallen into some confusion since Cato's departure. The prætor Digitius met with several checks, which his successor C. Flaminius had not time to repair, being obliged to make new levies, that retarded his departure. In *Farther Spain*, Scipio Nasica, and after him M. Fulvius, obtained each of them a complete victory over the Spaniards.

In Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, there were such violent commotions, that the senate declared *there was a tumult*, a form used in wars of importance, particularly those against the Gauls; and it had such force, as to put a stop to all exemption from military service. Forty thousand Ligurians encamped in the neighbourhood of Pisa (*l*); but the

(*d*) A city of Campania, not far from Naples, so called from *puteis*, because it had several hot and cold springs; or as others pretend, from *putore*, because of the strong smell of sulphur all about that neighbourhood. The Greeks, in ancient times, called it *Dicaarchia*, because it was famous for the administration of justice. Its present name is *Pozzuolo*.

(*e*) A town of Campania upon a river of the same name, and now called *Castello di Voltorno*.

(*f*) *Liternum* and *Linternum*, a city of Campania, between *Cumæ* and *Vulturnum*, at the mouth of the river Clanius, now *L'Agro*, which falls into the sea about eight miles north of Pozzuolo. Silius, lib. 8. mentions *Linterna palus*. There are not the least vestiges of this town now remaining.

(*g*) A maritime town of the *Picentini*, in the kingdom of Naples; Livy calls it *Castrum Salerni*, and father Harduin says it was only a *præsidium* before this time. It still retains its ancient name *Salerno*.

(*b*) A town of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, so called à *buxo arbore*, from the plenty of box wood in that neighbourhood. Its present name is *Policastro*.

(*i*) *Sipuntum* and *Sipūs*, a town of Apulia, in Italy, which still retains the name of *Siponto*. It was situate not far from mount Garganus, near the river *Cerbalus*, now *Candelaro*; and out of its ruins arose the present city of Manfredonia, which may be called *Sipuntum novum*. Lucan mentions this city, lib. 5. *Et subdita Sipūs montibus*. And Silius has *Sipūs* in the genitive for *Sipuntis*———*Et terram & litora Sipūs*.

(*k*) *Tempfa* or *Temesa*, a town belonging to the country of the Brutii, built by the Ausones, and famous for copper mines; but there are no vestiges of it remaining.

(*l*) A city of Tuscany, built by the Pisceans of Peloponnesus, whence Virgil, *Æn.* 10. calls it———*Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ*———*Urbs Etrusca solo*, from Alpheus, a river of Peloponnesus. It was situate on the river *Arnus*, now *Arno*, and still retains the name of *Pisa*. Three miles from hence, in the road to *Luca*, now *Lucca*, were the famous hot baths, called *Aquæ Pisaneæ*.

consul

consul Minucius obliged them to drop their design against that city, and the next year defeated them in a pitched battle, when he was only proconsul. Cornelius Merula obtains a signal victory over the Boii.

The Ligurians defeated.
The Boii defeated.

561.

Scipio Africanus perceived his interest with the people to be greatly lessened, when they came to hold their assemblies for chusing this year's magistrates: in vain did he endeavour to support his cousin Scipio Nasica, and his friend C. Laelius, in their pretensions to the consulate: the people's affection was all turned towards Flaminius, and upon his recommendation they preferred his brother Quinctius, who had moreover deserved this dignity, by the naval services performed in Greece.

The consuls ravage the country of the Boii, and oblige almost that whole nation to submit to the republic. The prætors likewise meet with success in Spain.

War with Antiochus king of Syria. Both sides looked out for pretences to commence hostilities. Antiochus sent ambassadors under the appearance of courting the alliance and friendship of the Romans, but in reality to convince other nations how greatly the republic was to blame. The Romans, on the other hand, declared war against Antiochus for very frivolous motives: they pretended they had a right to prescribe laws to that prince, and declared to him by their ambassadors, that there was no other way to be upon good terms with their republic, than to restore those Greek cities, which he had conquered in Asia, to their liberty, and engage not to turn his arms against Europe. Their real design, was to have an opportunity of waging war in Asia, and of rendering themselves as formidable in that part of the world, as they were already in Europe and Africa. For they knew extremely well that Antiochus would not submit to those conditions. This prince was stiled the *Great*, a title he seemed to deserve by the rapidity of his conquests in Asia; and he had a very plausible reason to attempt new ones in Europe. Thracia and the Chersonesus (*m*) had belonged, by right of conquest, to his grandfather Seleucus Nicanor. Such an enemy was the more formidable to the Romans, as he had Hannibal in his army. This celebrated general had retired into voluntary banishment, in order to shelter himself from the hatred of his enemies at Carthage, and from the pursuits of the Romans, who would not have rested till he was delivered up to them, under the pretence that he was plotting against the republic. Had his advice been followed, Antiochus would have begun with carrying the war into Italy; for which end he asked only a fleet with a body of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse; and he engaged to procure more troops and allies, as soon as he landed. Antiochus chose rather to begin with Greece, whither he was invited by the Ætolians. These people, heretofore allies of the

War with Antiochus.

(*m*) The peninsula near the Hellespont.

republic, were become her most dangerous enemies since the conclusion of the peace: they formed a confederacy, into which they expected to draw Philip king of Macedon, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta. Philip was in no hurry; but Nabis commenced hostilities, for which he was very ill requited by the Ætolians, who caused him to be assassinated, reckoning to make themselves masters of Lacedæmon; but this city recovered her liberty. They surprized Demetrias in Thessaly, but miscarried in their attempt upon Chalcis in Eubæa; the glory of taking that city was reserved for Antiochus. The Eubæans join him; the Athamans, the Boeotians and the Thessalians do the same, notwithstanding all the care taken by Flaminius, who had been sent into Greece with a view of keeping the several nations steady to their alliance with Rome: the prætors Attilius and Bæbius were likewise dispatched with a fleet, in order to protect their allies.

562.

The battle
of Thermopylæ.

War declared against Antiochus in the usual forms, by the *fœciales*. The consul Acilius lands in Greece with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He had already made himself master of Thessaly, before Antiochus had left Eubæa; for the city of Chalcis, in which this prince had taken up his winter quarters, proved a second Capua, where the Syrian army lost their vigour and courage. Antiochus, though he was then above fifty years old, fell in love with a young woman of mean extraction, not yet twenty years of age, and married her: this unseasonable passion took up a great deal more of his time, than was consistent with his glory. It is true, that he had as yet no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. In vain did he wait for the grand army, which he pretended to have ordered to march from Syria: and as for the Ætolians, who had been most lavish of their promises, they joined him with no more than four thousand men. With so inconsiderable a force, it would have been imprudent in him to dispute the field with the consul and the king of Macedon, who acted in conjunction with the Romans. He therefore entrenches himself in the pass of Thermopylæ (o), a place already famous in history, for the resistance which three hundred brave Lacedæmonians made, during three days, against an army of a million of men, with whom Xerxes had undertaken to conquer Greece. And, indeed, this defile is by nature almost impenetrable: for, on the one side, the sea forms a deep morass; and, on the other, there is a long chain of hills from the summits of mount Oeta; so that the intermediate passage is hardly sixty paces in breadth. In order to force the Lacedæmonians, Xerxes was obliged to make part of his troops climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy. Antiochus prevented the Romans from taking this step, for he made the Ætolians seize the three summits, nearest his camp. There remained therefore

(o) The straits that run between the mountains of Thessaly and Phocis, so called ἀπὸ θερμῶν πυλῶν, *Calidis Pertis*, from the hot springs in that neighbourhood.

only one way, and that was to dislodge the Ætolians. Cato, who was in Acilius's army as a legionary tribune, advised the consul to take this step, and offered to execute it himself. The success of this enterprise determined the fate of the day. At the time when the Syrians were manfully defending themselves against the Romans under Acilius, the detachment commanded by Cato, rushing down the mountains, obliged the enemy to give way. This overthrow ended in the loss of the whole Syrian army: the king being dangerously wounded, made his escape to Chalcis with five hundred horse.

Such was the issue of the famous battle of Thermopylæ, by which the Romans paved the way for the conquest of Asia. It must be acknowledged that Cato contributed greatly to the success of that day. Acilius commissioned him to carry the news to Rome, telling him, at the same time, *the republic has benefited more by your services, than you by her favours.* Yet Cato was a person of mean original, and the first of the Porcian family, that ever rose to public dignities. He appeared no more in the field after the battle of Thermopylæ: content with the glory he had already acquired by arms, he applied himself ever after in watching both in his censorial office, and by his example, over the morals of his countrymen, which were grown evidently more corrupt.

Acilius receives the submission of the Bœotians & Eubæans. Antiochus departs from Chalcis, and retires to Ephesus in Asia. Hera- War with clea is taken from the Ætolians, after a month's siege. They sue for the Æto- peace, but the conditions offered by the consuls are so severe, that they lians. determine again to pursue the war. The consul lays siege to Naupactus, a sea-port town of Ætolia, and the key of the whole country. Having reduced it to great straits, he raises the siege, at the recommendation of Flaminius, and grants a truce to the Ætolians, that they might send ambassadors to Rome. Flaminius, without any other character than that of deputy of the republic, still made a great figure in Greece. The people all considered him as their deliverer and mediator: and indeed he commonly preferred gentle to violent methods. Naval victory obtained by the prætor Livius, who commanded the Roman The Syrians fleet, over Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, near Cape Corycus in defeated at Ionia. Eumenes king of Pergamus, and son of Attalus, partook sea. of the honour of this victory. Immediately after the battle, the Rhodian fleet joined the Romans; and with this reinforcement, Livius insulted the enemy before the harbour of Ephesus, to which they had retired. During this campaign, king Philip carried on the war on his side with the consul's permission: and made himself master of all Athamania, of Demetrias, Dolopia, Aperantia, and some other towns of Perrhebia.

In Italy, the consul Scipio Nasica defeats the Boii in a pitched battle, The Boii makes himself master of their camp, and two days after obliges the and Liguri- whole nation to submit: on which occasion, a moiety of their lands is ans subdued. confiscated to the advantage of the republic. On the other hand, the Ligurians are subdued by Minucius, who had continued to carry on the war

war against them in the quality of proconsul. Those people made use this year of what they called the *sacred law*; that is, they bound themselves by a terrible oath, either to conquer or die: this was the last effort of an expiring nation, who were at length obliged to yield to the superior fortune of the Romans.

The senate grant an ovation to the proprætor Fulvius Nobilior, for having reduced the *Vestones* (p) and *Oretani* in Spain.

Scipio Nasica having presided at the comitia for the great elections, determined the suffrages in favour of L. Cornelius, brother of Scipio Africanus, and of his friend C. Julius; who were chosen consuls. In regard to the command, instead of drawing lots for their provinces, they referred the matter to the senate. The conscript fathers were at a loss how to settle the matter between those two great men; when a person still greater than they determined their choice. Scipio Africanus offered to serve under his brother in the war in Asia, as his lieutenant. It does not appear, that Acilius ever solicited to be continued in command during the war against Antiochus, in which he had made so glorious a beginning.

563.

The Scipio's land in Greece, with a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men: upon their arrival, they grant a truce of six months to the Ætolians, to the end that these people might have time to send a second embassy to Rome. The two brothers were impatient to pass over into Asia; the one in order to acquire as much glory in that country, as his brother had done in Africa; the other to enter the lists once more with Hannibal. They pursue their march through Thessaly, Macedon, Thrace, and the Chersonesus, with an intent to pass the Hellespont. Then it was that Antiochus grew sensible of the solidity of Hannibal's counsels: *Believe me*, said that great general, *if you do not cut out employment for the Romans at home, you will soon be under a necessity of fighting in Asia; those republicans aim at nothing less than the empire of the world.* Hannibal's reputation was what hurt him with Antiochus. This prince was afraid lest a general, who had acquired so great a name even in being subdued by the Romans, should eclipse his glory, were he to be so fortunate as to conquer them under the auspices of Syria: at length, circumstances pressing, he gave him the command of a fleet, which he had ordered from Phoenicia, to join that at Ephesus. This fleet is intercepted and beaten by the Romans; and Hannibal is obliged to remain in Pamphilia. On the other hand, the fleet under Polyxenidas is defeated a second time by the Romans off Myonnesos, a city of Ionia (q). Antiochus draws his garrisons out of Europe, and assembles all his land forces in the heart of Asia, to make head against the Scipio's. This was the worst thing

The Syrians
defeated
twice at sea.

(p) The *Vestones* were a people of Portugal; and the *Oretani* a people of Spain, who inhabited the country between the rivers *Anas* and *Batis*, now called *La Mancha*.

(q) *Myonnesos* is a small island near Lemnos, according to Suidas and Stephanus.

he could have done. The town of Lyfimachia on the borders of the Chersonesus, and Abydus another town on the opposite shore of the Hellespont, might have held out a long time against the Romans; but they found them both evacuated to their great surprize. The king of Syria, unassisted by Hannibal's counsels, found himself so distressed, that he broke out into these words: *I know not what demon has bewitched me! every thing is against me: I creep before the Romans, and serve as a guide to conduct them to my ruin.*

Antiochus makes proposals of peace, which are rejected. He was so very desirous of coming to an agreement, that he made an offer to Scipio Africanus, of restoring him back his son, a youth who had been taken in the beginning of the war; and, according to Polybius, he even proposed to share his dominions with that general. Scipio made him an answer worthy of himself and of the Romans. During their march, the consular army received the submissions of several cities, and among the rest of Ilion (q), from which the Romans were said to have derived their origin. After they had passed the river Hyllus, they went and offered battle to the king of Syria, near the city of Magnesia (r). Antiochus seemed to have taken a pleasure in collect-
 ing his army from all the different nations which he had subdued, The battle of Magnesia.
 or with which he was allied, in order to make a parade before the Romans. He had Scythians, Trallians, Cretans, Mysians, Cirtians, Persians, Arabs, Lydians, Cappadocians, Carians, Cilicians, in short, Galatians, or Gallogrecians, a people from Gaul, who scouted in Asia; all which nations he had drawn over to his side. He had likewise tried to gain Prusias king of Bithynia, but the letters which this prince received from Scipio Africanus, determined him to join with the Romans. In the Syrian army, there were also dromedaries and camels, with fifty four large elephants from India, carrying towers with several floors, all filled with slingers and archers: besides, a vast number of chariots, armed with scythes, were drawn up before the first line. The Romans were not in the least terrified with this great apparatus, nor with the superior number of the enemy: the latter were reckoned seventy thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, while the Roman army consisted of no more than eight and twenty thousand men, including a body of seven thousand, whom Philip king of Macedon, and Eumenes king of Pergamus, had joined with the legions. The consul Cornelius was impatient to fight before the arrival of his brother, who was detained by sickness in the neighbourhood of Elaea (s); and perhaps he had a mind to shew that he knew how to conquer without his brother's assistance. As soon as the armed chariots appeared to move, a detachment of Roman bowmen and slingers, having received orders from king Eumenes to advance, began to assail them with a shower of darts and

(q) The city of Troy.

(r) A city in Lydia, under mount Sipylus.

(s) A city of Æolia.

Antiochus
defeated.

stones: this obliged the chariots to turn back, and to fall upon the left wing, which being thrown into confusion, was immediately attacked by the main body of the Roman army. The center, which consisted of the phalanx distributed into platoons; was put into disorder by other elephants placed in the spaces between the companies; for those animals, not being able to bear the darts of the Romans, grew wild and enraged, so as to overturn whatever came near them. The right wing, commanded by Antiochus in person, had the advantage in the beginning, and even the legionaries turned their backs, when they were stopped by a tribune, named Æmilius, whom the consul had left with two thousand men to guard the camp: this officer ordered his men to fall upon the fugitives, and compel them to face the enemy. Antiochus perceiving this, could stand no longer, but turned his horse about and fled: the rest of the army followed his example. He lost above fifty thousand men that day, reckoning the prisoners and those who were slain in the camp, which the Romans stormed, and found an immense booty. So considerable a victory is said to have cost the consul no more than three hundred foot and five and twenty horse: it was followed by the reduction of all the towns in Asia Minor.

Peace con-
cluded with
Antiochus.

Antiochus submits to the conditions proposed by the Romans. Nothing could be more humble than the speech of the Syrian ambassadors: *your victory*, said they to the Romans, *has made you masters of the world; therefore laying aside all animosity against mortals, you should henceforward think only to imitate the gods in pardoning and doing good to mankind.* Nothing more haughty than the answer which Scipio Africanus made, in the name of the Roman republic: *unprosperous strokes of fortune have never been able to depress our courage; neither has prosperity ever elated us: the same conditions we offered you when both sides were equal, we now propose to you again, though we are victorious: and let Antiochus remember, that it is more difficult to strike at the power of kings, than to demolish them intirely when once an impression is made.* These conditions were, that Antiochus should give up his pretensions to Europe, and all he was possessed of in Asia, beyond mount Taurus; that he should pay a sum towards defraying the expences of the war; that he should give to the Romans twenty hostages, Antiochus his youngest son for one, and nineteen Syrian lords, such as the republic should choose; and lastly, that he should deliver up Hannibal, and Thos the Ætolian, as the principal authors of the war. This last condition had been added, whether Scipio would or not; so that the Romans gave, on this occasion, the strongest proof of that personal animosity which they ever retained against the celebrated Carthaginian general. But he saved himself by flight, as soon as he heard that they were about a treaty, apprehending with reason that he should be made a sacrifice.

In Greece, the Ætolians not having been able to obtain the conditions they desired of the Roman senate, renewed the war, and stripped Philip of Athamania and all his other conquests.

In

In Spain, the proconsul Æmilius Paulus is defeated by the Lusitanians in the country of the Vaccæi (1); and six thousand Romans are killed in the engagement. The year following, the proconsul had his revenge; for he destroyed eighteen thousand of the enemy, and took above three thousand prisoners.

In Italy, the consul Lælius was employed in overawing the Gauls and Ligurians, who had been already subdued.

564.

“Rome was now become, as father Catrou observes, the most magnificent spot in the whole world. There it was that kings, and princes, with the deputies of the republics and cities of Asia, Africa, and Greece, were all assembled: there it was that they all paid their court to the senate, who, by a mere act of their will, either raised or pulled down whole nations, as well as sovereigns.” Antiochus’s ambassadors came to sue for a ratification of the treaty concluded with the Scipio’s, and it was granted them. Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had distinguished himself so greatly in the last war, desired in return for his services, that they would add all the conquered provinces beyond mount Taurus to his dominions. The Rhodians, though they had not done the least service, opposed the pretensions of the king of Pergamus, in regard to the Greek cities of Asia. The deputies of those cities solicited for their liberty. The senate satisfied them all. Lycaonia, the two Phrygia’s, and Mysia, were adjudged to king Eumenes, who had afterwards a further addition of the Chersonesus and the town of Lyfimachia: Lycia was given to the Rhodians, with that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and a district of Pisidia: out of those two lots were excepted the cities which had enjoyed their liberty before the war. Besides, ten commissioners were, according to custom, deputed to the East, in order to settle all affairs whatever: after this very manner the republic had proceeded in the pacification of Africa and Greece, in consequence of the victories of Scipio and Flaminius.

The latter was created censor this year, to the great displeasure of Cato, who solicited this office even by ignominious methods. For he acted the informer, and charged Manius Acilius, one of his competitors, with having converted part of the Grecian spoils to his private use. Claudius Marcellus, son of the great Marcellus, was chosen colleague to Flaminius. Scipio Africanus is named *princeps senatus* the third time: his brother Lucius Cornelius has a triumph granted him, and takes the surname of Asiaticus. Pliny assures us that the vases of silver, carried at this triumph, weighed one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds; and that those of gold weighed a thousand five hundred: he adds, that the excessive growth of luxury and extravagance at Rome was owing to this first conquest of Asia.

(1) A people of the kingdom of Leon in Spain.

Peace with
the Æto-
lians.

War with
the Gala-
tians.

The two consuls received orders, the one to set out for Greece against the Ætolians, the other for Asia to secure the conquests of Rome in that part of the world. Fulvius Nobilior, with the assistance of the Epirots, makes himself master of Ambracia, a strong city, situated near the gulf of the same name, and considered as the key of Ætolia. The taking of this place only, obliges the Ætolians to sue for peace, which is granted, on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the cities and territories which they had conquered since the consulate of Flaminius; of paying the expences of the war; of sending forty hostages; and of engaging to have no other friends nor enemies than those of Rome. Manlius Vulso marches through Caria and Phrygia against the Galatians, who had incurred the displeasure of the republic, by making an alliance with Antiochus, and sending him succours: this was a sufficient provocation, and, according to the principles of Roman policy, it was necessary either that they should make a submission, or be chastised. Upon the consul's approach, the Galatians divided themselves into two bodies; those who were called *Tolistobii* and *Troemi*, intrenched themselves on mount Olympus; and the others, known by the name of *Tectosagi*, were posted on mount Magaba. It was a difficult undertaking to force those entrenchments; yet Manlius attempted it, and succeeded. After he had observed which side of mount Olympus was the least steep, he ordered his light troops to begin the attack; and these, with a shower of darts, drove away the enemy's advanced guards. The Galatians fought half naked, after the manner of the Gauls, and made use of targets that were too small to be of any defence; besides, they had no other arms than the flints which they found in the mountains. After this first advantage, the legionaries advanced, and obtained a cheap victory over those troops only half armed, and half overcome with fear. Historians speak differently of the number of the enemy killed in that battle. On mount Megaba, the attack was made in the same manner, and with the same success. The open country was plundered by the consul's orders. The soldiers found a prodigious booty, no less than the spoils, as it were, of all Asia Minor; for the Gauls had greatly enriched themselves by their depredations during the space of ninety years that they had settled in this province.

565.

At a census taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms, appeared to be two hundred and fifty eight thousand three hundred and twenty eight.

The privilege of voting in the comitia is granted to the inhabitants of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum (*u*).

(*u*) An ancient city of the Volsci in Italy, near the conflux of the rivers *Liris* and *Fibrenus*, famous for being the birth place of Cicero, and Marius. The adjective is *Arpinas*, *Arpinates aquæ*, Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. but poets likewise use *Arpinus*, Mart. lib. 10. *Arpinis quoque comparare chartis*. The place is still extant, and retains its ancient name *Arpino*.

The taking of *Same*, a town of Cephallenia (x), by the præconsul *Same taken.* Fulvius. This island had been excepted in the treaty concluded with the Ætolians, and Fulvius made himself master of it in the name of the republic during his consulate. *Same* was the only town that refused to admit a Roman garrison, though it had given hostages like the rest: but it was taken by storm, plundered, and the inhabitants were sold into slavery.

The præconsul Manlius burns the fleet of king Antiochus, which this prince had engaged to deliver up to the Romans by one of the articles of the treaty of peace; and his elephants are given to king Eumenes. Antiochus died miserably a little after this melancholy *Death of Antiochus.* expedition.

The consuls were not employed against any enemy this year in Italy; it was not till the year following that the republic thought of revenging the death of the prætor L. Ræbius, who was treacherously killed two years before by the Ligurians, as he was travelling through their country to his government of *Hither Spain.*

566.

Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius, young patricians, are delivered up to the Carthaginians, for having violated the law of nations, in striking the ambassadors of that republic.

Scipio Africanus is accused before the people by the two tribunes, *Scipio Africanus accused before the people.* both Pætilius's, at the instigation of Cato, who, to make use of Livy's expression, kept continually barking at the great Scipio: the charge they brought against him, was that of *peculatus* (y), viz. that he had received great sums of Antiochus, to obtain an advantageous peace for him. The conqueror of Hannibal, of Syphax, and Carthage, the man whom the Romans had offered to create perpetual consul and dictator, was reduced to make his defence in public like a criminal: he did it with that magnanimity, by which all his actions were distinguished. As his accusers, for want of proofs, launched out into invective and abuse, he was content the first day with reciting his services and exploits; the usual defence of great men on those occasions, and it was received with universal applause. The second day was still more glorious to him: *tribunes of the people*, said he, *and you my fellow citizens*, on this day I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians; come, Romans, let us go to the capitol, and offer up our thanksgivings to the gods, and pray that they may always grant you such generals as me. Accordingly the people followed him, and the tribunes were left by themselves with the crier, whom they had brought to cite him. The accusation was renewed a third time, but Scipio was not then at Rome; he had retired to his country house at Liternum, where he is

(x) An island in the Ionian sea, subject to the Venetians, and now called *Cephalonia*.

(y) The crime of embezzling public money.

He dies at
Llternum.

Scipio Asia-
ticus is fined.

Via Flami-
nia.

supposed to have died soon after, and he was interred in the same monument with the poet Ennius, whom he had ever honoured with his friendship. This affair was soon revived; the Petilius's obtained a law for enquiring into the sums of money received from Antiochus; and Lucius Scipio was condemned in a fine for the same pretended crime of *peculatus*, or embezzlement, of which his brother had been accused. His goods were sold; and it was an argument in his favour, that his effects did not produce as much as would pay the fine.

The consuls Æmilius and Flaminius defeat the Ligurians, and deprive them of their arms: this was all they could take from them, for Liguria was a poor barren country, very proper for cutting out work for the Romans, during the intervals between more important wars. When this was ended, the consuls employed their troops in making two great roads; Flaminius undertook that from Bologna to Arezzo; while Manlius opened another from Placentia to Rimini, and joined it to the Flaminian road. "An admirable custom of the Romans, says M. Rollin, who looking upon idleness and indolence as the source of effeminacy, and relaxation of discipline, kept their troops constantly employed, either in military fortifications, or in public works. This is what preserved the exactness and severity of their discipline, and rendered them at the same time both indefatigable and invincible."

In Spain, the prætors Acidinus and Atinius obtain considerable advantages, the one over the Celtiberians in *Nearer Spain*, the other over the Lusitanians in *Farther Spain*.

Twelve thousand Latins who had settled in Rome, and got themselves included in the census, are turned out of the city. The great number of foreigners began now to be burdensome to this capital.

567.

The Bac-
chanalian
feasts sup-
pressed.

Suppression of the Bacchanalian feasts. Under pretence of worshipping the god Bacchus, infamous societies of women at first, and afterwards of men, had been set on foot, in several parts of Italy, and even in Rome: they were governed by no laws, but acted with the most unbounded licentiousness. Those miscreants assembled with lighted torches in the middle of woods and forests, in dark pitch nights; and, after having drowned their senses in wine, they abandoned themselves to all manner of wickedness. These meetings generally ended in the sacrifice of chastity or life. To give a full scope to their inordinate lusts, they put out the lights; and to stifle the cries of dying persons, they made a most frightful noise with screaming voices, and loud jarring instruments. This whole mystery of iniquity was revealed to Posthumius the consul: upon his making a report thereof to the senate and people, he and his colleague were ordered to inquire further into the matter, and to punish the guilty. To their great surprize, they found that about seven thousand persons had been initiated into these horrid mysteries; a great many of them were condemned to death; the remainder avoided a public execution, either by

by flight, or by laying violent hands on themselves. While Posthumus was employed at Rome in exterminating the remains of this horrid sect, Marcius enters Liguria, where he meets with a check.

M. Fulvius, in compliance with a vow made at the time of the Ætolian war, caused public games to be celebrated, at which the combats of the *athletæ* were seen for the first time, with the hunting of lions and panthers. Combats of the *athletæ*.

568.

The senate sent three commissioners over to Greece, to judge a difference that had arisen between several of the Greek states, and Philip king of Macedon, in regard to the possession of some towns. The commissioners gave a decree, by which they confined the kingdom of Macedon to its ancient limits. The deputies of Pergamus complained likewise that Philip had made himself master of Ænos and Maronea: these being Thracian cities, Eumenes pretended they belonged to the jurisdiction of Lysimachia, which had been adjudged to him by the Romans. The commissioners repaired to Thessalonica, in order to determine this new contest; and Philip followed them thither with the utmost indignation. It was indeed an humbling circumstance for a potent king, the successor of Alexander the Great, to be obliged to plead his cause before three private citizens of Rome! As they had decided that the king of Macedon should withdraw his troops from those two places, he began to prepare for war.

The Ligurians are defeated by the consuls.

In Spain the prætors Calpurnius and Quinctius join their forces, and gain a complete victory over the Lusitanians near the Tagus; out of five and thirty thousand men, hardly four thousand escaped; and their camp was taken and plundered. This victory restored the tranquillity of *Farther Spain* for some time. The Lusitanians defeated.

569.

Cato holds the censorship, together with Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Historians tell us that Cato was a man of general accomplishments; but he seems to have had a more particular talent for the censorial, than for any other office: he was remarkably active in canvassing for it, and he was more vain of this, than of all his other preferments. He took the name of censor which stuck by him, and he caused these words to be engraved at the bottom of the statue, which the people erected to him in the temple of Health: *To Cato the censor for having reformed the discipline of the republic by his sage regulations.* This was the first time the people did him this honour; and as his friends expressed their surprize, at his not having obtained it sooner, his answer was, *I had much rather you should be surprized at the people's delaying to erect a statue to Cato, than to hear you ask their reason for erecting it.* In the administration he shewed himself what he had always been, a zealous encourager of order and discipline, an obstinate and inflexible enemy. He drew up a new list of senators, and degraded among others, L. Quintius, brother of the great Flaminius, who had merited a much

severer punishment: for this senator had been convicted of committing murder to gratify a courtesan, that expressed a curiosity to see a man die a violent death. He degraded Scipio Asiaticus of his rank of Roman knight, merely out of hatred to the Cornelian family. He was an enemy to luxury, which began to shew itself about this time in Rome; and with a view to suppress it, he contrived a reformation, which was productive of very good consequences. Taxes had been hitherto raised, according to the discovery which the citizens made of their effects; but this did not extend to cloaths, moveables, equipage, jewels, and the usual articles of luxury. Cato included them all: and as the censors themselves used to set a value on goods declared, he made the estimate amount to a great deal more than the original cost, and laid the tax in proportion. He erected a magnificent building in the Roman forum for public uses, which was called after his name, *Basilica Porcia*. The prevailing taste as yet of this city, was to be fond of public magnificence, and to check the pride of individuals.

The consuls meeting with no enemy to oppose them in Liguria, established two colonies, one at Pisaurum (x) in Umbria, to awe the Gauls, the other at Pollentia in Picenum (y).

The praetor Aulus Terentius makes himself master of Corbio (a) in *Hither Spain*: as many of the rebellious Suesetani as happened to be in that place, were made slaves.

New commissioners sent to Greece, to see that the decree against Philip is properly executed. This prince having caused the principal inhabitants of Maronea, that had declared against him, to be massacred, refuseth to deliver up Onomastus, his favourite, to whom he had committed the management of the above massacre, and whom the commissioners wanted to send to Rome, in order to undergo his examination. However, he sends his son Demetrius, who had been long an hostage at Rome, during which time, he gained the affection of the inhabitants of that city; and for this reason was the properest person to defend his father's cause before the senate. The same commissioners took cognizance of the complaints of the Lacedaemonians against the Achæans, and pronounced their award with such an air of authority, as shewed that Rome was gradually aspiring to the sovereignty of the world.

570.

A cloud was gathering towards Asia, which seemed to threaten Rome with another storm. Hannibal ever mindful of the oath of per-

(x) Situate on a river of the same name, which runs into the Adriatic. Lucanus, lib. 2. mentions it likewise by the name of *Isaurum*—*Et juncto supis Isauro*. It is now called *Pesaro*.

(y) Father Harduin thinks this is the same place as *Urbs Salvia*, now *Urbisaglia*; Holstenius is of opinion that they were different towns, but joining to one another; which may be proved by the ruins still extant.

(a) Not far from Barcelona.

petual aversion to the Romans, which he had taken in his infancy, flew about from place to place, wherever he thought he could stir up new enemies against the republic. After the defeat of the king of Syria, he retired to Crete, and from thence to Bithynia. Prusias king of that country was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, a faithful ally of the Romans; and by Hannibal's instigation, Philip of Macedon joined his forces to those of Prusias. The Carthaginian general commanded that prince's troops, and already had obtained several advantages, when Eumenes complained by his deputies at Rome. There it was resolved to send ambassadors to Prusias, with a strict charge, as it is pretended, to oblige that prince to deliver up this general to the Romans. Prusias was under a necessity of obeying: Hannibal being surrounded by the king's guards in the castle where he lodged, and finding no possibility of making his escape, destroyed himself by poison, which he always carried about him for that purpose. If this great captain wanted religion, sincerity, and humanity, as he is said to have done, I shall perhaps grant that he had the accomplishments of a conqueror, but I will not allow that he had those of an hero. Between these two characters there is a wide difference, which the vulgar nevertheless find difficult to distinguish, for the very same reason as they confound empirics with men of real knowledge in physic. The loquaciousness and specious appearance of the empiric are apt to impose on the multitude, who, through want of judgment, go no further than the surface of things, and are naturally captivated by outward show. Were the expression allowed me, I should say that conquerors are empirics in heroism; that their most brilliant exploits are mere exertions of power, which charm the vulgar, alarm nature, and fill the human breast with sentiments of pity and horror.

Death of
Hannibal.

His cha-
racter.

There happened nothing new in Liguria, the province which fell to the consul Fabius Labeo.

His colleague Marcellus repels a swarm of Gauls, who had passed the Alps in 567, with a view of settling in the neighbourhood of Aquileia (a). The Romans having too great a jealousy of the Gauls, to suffer those new neighbours to settle, sent in their room a colony of Latins, Aquileia being in some measure the key of Italy on that side. Some time after they sent three more colonies, one to Parma (b),

The Gauls
defeated.

(a) A city of the Veneti in Italy, situate on the Adriatic sea, and formerly celebrated for its riches and commerce: it was quite reduced by Attila, and is now only a small village. Julian, orat. 2. derives the name *ab aquila augurio*, when it was building, but Vossius from *aquarum copia*, as if it were *Aquilegia*.

(b) A city of Gallia Cispadana, between Cremona and Placentia, which still retains its ancient splendor and name. That it was famous for fine wool, appears from the following epigram of Martial, lib. 14.

*Velleribus primis Alpibus, Parma secundis
Nobilis: Alcinum tertia laudat ovis.*

the other to Mutina (c), and the third to Saturnia (a); these were to overawe the Cisalpine Gauls in the heart of Italy.

571.

The senate pass a decree to restrain the extravagance of the ædiles in the exhibition of public shows. Rome had six armies on foot this year, two in Spain, and four in Italy, three of which were in Liguria under the command of the two consuls, and the proconsul Fabius Labeo, and the fourth under the proconsul Marcellus, at the further end of the eastern part of Italy, upon the Adriatic sea. And yet there happened no remarkable event, nor can we see any reason that should induce the republic to put herself to so considerable an expence, unless perhaps she wanted to exercise her troops, apprehending a war with Philip king of Macedon.

572.

This unfortunate prince seeing himself despised in his old age, since the Romans had humbled him, was seized with such despair, as to commit the greatest cruelties against every one that he suspected to be attached to their party: thus he inhumanly destroyed two of the most noble families of his whole kingdom. His fury fell even upon his second son Demetrius, who had brought with him from Rome the glory of having appeased the senate, and was, moreover, a friend and well wisher to the republic. Philip took umbrage at this, and listened to the calumnies of his other son Perseus, who, though the elder brother, still had reason to apprehend that the protection of the Romans and the affection of the people would raise his brother to the throne, in prejudice to his own birth-right. Demetrius fell a sacrifice to his father's jealousy, and his brother's hatred: he was condemned to death, and died by poison, which was administered to him in prison.

Successful expedition of the proconsul Paulus Æmilius against the Ligurians. Those inveterate enemies of Rome, not satisfied with the superiority of their army over that of Paulus Æmilius (for they were forty thousand to eighteen thousand) made use also of treachery to obtain their end: they demanded a truce of ten days, and when it was granted, they took the opportunity to fall suddenly upon the proconsul's camp. He kept upon the defensive for several days, but finding at length that there was no sign of succours from the consuls, who had not as yet been able to finish their levies, because of the plague, which raged in Rome; and seeing no hopes of any from his colleague Cneius Bæbius, he caused his troops to march out of their camp in good or-

The Ligurians defeated by Paulus Æmilius.

(c) A town of Gallia Cispadana, situate on the Æmilian way, between the rivers *Gabellus* and *Scultenna*, now the *Secchia* and the *Panaro*. It was famous for the *bellum Mutinense*, in Mark Antony's time, to which Lucan alludes lib. 1, *Pharsal. His Cæsar, Perusina fames, Mutinæque labores—Accedant satis.*

(d) This colony was sent to *Hetruria*, but there are no vestiges of it remaining.

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der; when he fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, cut fifteen thousand of them in pieces, and took two thousand five hundred prisoners. This victory obliged the whole district of the Ingauni (*d*) in Liguria to submit, and began to add a lustre to the name of Paulus Æmilius.

The Roman arms were not less formidable in Spain. For Q. Fulvius Flaccus, prætor in *Hither Spain* for the second year, reduced almost the whole nation of the Celtiberians by two complete victories. Manlius Vulso, proprætor in *Further Spain*, obtains also several advantages over the Lusitanians. The Romans successful in Spain.

Insurrection in Spain and Corsica, appeased by the prætor M. Pinarius Posca.

A law was enacted to regulate the number of guests that might be invited to an entertainment, as also that of the dishes to be served up, and the sums to be spent. The intent of this regulation was to prevent unlawful assemblies which used to be held under the name of feasts, and to check the luxury and extravagance of private people (*e*). It inflicted penalties both on the master of the house, and on the guests; and was made at the motion of the tribune Orcius. This is also in the opinion of many writers, the time of the publication of the *Aquilian law*, so called from another tribune, the author of it, whose name was Aquilius Gallus. The *Orcian* law.
The *Aquilian* law.

Dedication of the temple of Piety by Marcus Acilius Glabrio, who erected there, in honour of his father, the first gilded statue that had been ever seen in Italy.

573.

The death of the consul Calpurnius retarded the departure of the consular armies, and gave P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius, consuls of the preceding year, sufficient leisure to reduce the territory of the Ligurians, called Apuani (*f*); which they did by appearing only at the head of their armies. Twelve thousand Apuani surrendered at first; and then the rest finding themselves unable to support the war, submitted to quit their mountains, and to be transported to Samnium. Thither they were conducted and settled at the expence of the republic, to the number of forty thousand heads of families. This method of transporting people, who continued obstinate in rebellion, was productive of such good effects, that the Romans ever after made it their standing custom. A triumph is granted to the consuls Cornelius and Cethegus, the first that was ever allowed to generals without fighting a battle. Custom of transporting rebels.

The consular armies found employment still in Liguria, being obliged to subdue the rest of the Ingauni and Apuani; seven thousand of whom were also transported to Samnium. A prodigious number of

(*d*) They lived about the modern city of *Albenga*.

(*e*) No man was to spend more than one hundred *asses* of brass at an entertainment, that is, six shillings and fivepence.

(*f*) Apua was a town of Liguria, on the confines of Tuscan.

poisoners, being convicted of exercising their baneful art in time of pestilence, were condemned to death.

Lex annalis.

The first *Lex annalis*, a name given to those regulations, which settled the age of attaining to different employments; and, indeed, they only confirmed the standing custom. The age for the quaestorship was twenty seven; for the curule ædileship thirty seven; for the prætorship forty; for the consulate forty three. L. Villius Tappulus, tribune of the people, presented this first law of the kind, and his descendants ever after bore the surname of *Annalis*.

The Romans successful in Spain,

In *Hither Spain*, the prætor Q. Fulvius Flaccus obtained another victory over the Celtiberians, who had laid an ambush for him in a defile, through which he was to pass, in his way to join his successor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Seventeen thousand of the enemy were killed in this battle, and three thousand two hundred were made prisoners. Fulvius, at his return, is named consul with L. Manlius Acidinus his brother. The difference of name between the brothers is owing to this: Fulvius's brother had been received into the Manlian family by adoption, and of course had been invested with all their rights and privileges, for such was the effect of adoption among the Romans. And thence we may likewise comprehend in what manner two own brothers, that are sons of the same father, might be consuls the same year, without violating the law which required one of those magistrates to be of a patrician, and the other of a plebeian family. However, this is the only instance of two brothers, colleagues in the consulate.

574.

They march against the Ligurians, who are compelled to quit their mountains, and come and live in the open country. By this step they were rendered an easy conquest, should they happen to rebel anew.

The Celtiberians are reduced by the prætor Sempronius Gracchus, who gained four victories over them, and took a great number of their towns. L. Poilhumius, on the other hand, defeats the Lusitani and the Vaccæi, in several engagements.

By the census taken this year at Rome, there appeared to be two hundred and seventy three thousand two hundred and forty four citizens, able to bear arms. It was taken by the censors Æmilius Lepidus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had hitherto been at enmity with each other, but were sincerely reconciled out of regard to the public good, the very day of their election, in the presence of the whole people assembled in comitia. This behaviour was greatly applauded; and Cicero, a long while after, made it his rule of conduct in regard to Cæsar.

Death of Philip king of Macedon. After the tragical adventure of his son Demetrius, he pined away with chagrin and remorse: worn out with continual watching, he breathed his last, bemoaning the loss of one of his sons, and loading the other with curses. Philip was full of his projects against the Romans to the day of his death. His son

Perseus

Petres was heir not only to his throne; but to his hatred against the republic: yet reflecting that the beginning of a reign was not a proper conjuncture for entering upon a war of that importance, he resolved to send an embassy to the Romans, acquainting them with his accession to the throne, and desiring they would grant him their friendship, and acknowledge his right to the crown.

575.

Expedition of the consul Manlius into Istria. His province was Cisalpine Gaul; but finding little or no employment for his troops in that country, he marched against the Istrians, who had made some incursions upon the territories of the allies of the republic. The Istrians, by the help of a thick fog, surprized the Roman camp upon the banks of the Timavus (b). The advanced guards seeing the enemy approach, when they were thought to be at a great distance, betook themselves to flight, and spread the alarm in the Roman camp, which was immediately abandoned, notwithstanding the orders and menaces of the consul. Ebulo, king of the Istrians, arrived just in time to sit down to table in the quaestor's tent, where he found a great entertainment ready served up. His troops did the same, and giving themselves up to jollity and mirth, they drank very plentifully, when Manlius being apprized of what passed, rallied his soldiers, attacked the enemy, and made them pay dear for their entertainment. Eight thousand Istrians were left dead on the spot; Ebulo, though in a drunken condition, was put on horseback, and conveyed away by his guards. Upon the first news of this affair, which in the end turned out a matter of laughter to the Romans, all Italy was alarmed, inso-much that extraordinary levies were made at Rome and among the allies: orders were also given to the consul Junius, then in Liguria, to march with all expedition to the assistance of his colleague, whose army was thought to have been demolished. But they soon recovered themselves from their fright, when they came to hear that Manlius had lost a great deal of wine, and but very few soldiers.

A vestal having let the sacred fire go out, was, according to custom, whipped with rods.

576.

Manlius and his colleague continue the war with success; but it was intirely put an end to by the consul Claudius, a violent man, who, upon the first news of those advantages, set out abruptly from Rome without his lictors, or any marks of dignity, and even without being

(b) A broad, but very short river (Cluverius says not above a mile) of Friuli, which rising out of nine springs in the neighbouring mountains, runneth to S. Giovanni, and soon after emptieth itself in the Adriatic. Virgil takes particular notice of this river, *Aen. 1.*

*Antenor potuit ——— fontem superare Timavi,
Unde per ora novem & vasto cum murmure mentis
Is mare praecepit.*

inaugurated in the capitol, in so great a hurry was he to rob the proconsuls of the honour they might expect to receive from their expedition. Immediately he lays siege to Nefactium (i), whither the chief persons among the Istrians had retired, along with Ebulo their king. The besieged being reduced to despair, murder their wives and children on the ramparts, in sight of the Roman army, and throw their dead bodies into the ditches: the town is taken by assault, and Ebulo is killed. This consul storms two other towns, and razes them to the ground as well as Nefactium. The Istrians submit and give hostages. Manlius forthwith marches into Liguria, gives battle to the enemy, and kills above fifteen thousand of their men.

Sempronius Gracchus had the conduct of the war in Sardinia, which revolted anew. He obtained a complete victory over the rebels, in which they lost twelve thousand men; and the year following he restored tranquillity to the island, where he continued to command in the quality of proconsul.

The senate revive a law, forbidding the Latin allies to come and settle at Rome, or to be made free of the city, unless they left some of their children in their own country, to perpetuate the race. This law was made upon the complaints of the Latins, mentioning, that if proper remedy was not taken, their provinces would be deserted, and they should not be able to furnish the usual number of levies.

577.

The Ligurians
were defeated.

Claudius, now no more than proconsul in Liguria, was obliged to open the campaign, because of the death of the consul Cornelius, which retarded the departure of his colleague Petilius: and he had the mortification in his turn of seeing himself interrupted in the midst of his successes. Petilius attacks the Ligurians in their mountains, and is slain in the engagement. It is observed by Pagan writers, that upon inspecting the entrails of the victims before the departure of the consuls, there was foundation to presume that some great misfortune should happen to them both: but this circumstance seems to have been invented after the fact, to raise the credit of the aruspices. Care was taken to conceal the consul's death both from his troops, and from the enemy; so that things went on as usual, and the Romans obtained a complete victory.

578.

We learn from the *fasti capitolini*, that the two consuls of this year received the honour of a triumph. Lepidus acted against the Ligurians, and Mucius against the Gauls in the neighbourhood of the Po; but we know not the particulars of their expeditions, nor those of the next year's consuls.

(i) The furthest town of Istria, at the mouth of the river *Arſia*; it is now called *Castel Novo*.

A great plague at Rome. Such multitudes died thereof, that, according to Livy, heaps of dead bodies remained in the streets.

579.

In all probability, they found out that those frequent contagions at Rome, were partly owing to the nastiness of the public streets. Livy takes notice it was then that the censors Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Posthumius Albinus caused the streets of this great city to be paved the first time. Those magistrates rendered their names memorable for the severity with which they discharged their office: they degraded nine senators, of which number was Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of the great Scipio, but unworthy of so illustrious a parent. At that time he was prætor, and had obtained this office in a very remarkable manner. His competitor was C. Cicereius, a client of his family, and who had formerly been secretary to his father. Cicereius was ashamed to contest the point with his patron's son; and seeing that the suffrages were likely to unite in his own favour, he laid aside his candidate's robe, and began to solicit for Scipio, who by that means obtained the place. The disgrace he underwent in being degraded by the censors, induced his relations to take care that he should be forbid to execute his office.

The first time of paving the streets of Rome.

The censor Fulvius, having stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its marble tiles, in order to cover the temple of *Fortuna Equestris*, which he was building at Rome, in compliance with a vow made during his prætorship in Spain, the tiles are brought back again by order of the senate. This action of the above censor was looked upon as a sacrilege: he was blamed for it by the senate, and the unhappy death of this magistrate, happening two years after, was looked upon as a divine punishment. For upon hearing that of his two sons one was dead, and the other seized with a dangerous illness, he was overcome with grief and strangled himself.

Publication of the Voconian law, which forbid the citizens of Rome to institute any woman whatsoever universal legatee, and determined the sum they might receive in succession: this was to prevent the women from transferring by marriage the estates of their own to strange families. This law was proposed by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa, whose name it bears: and Cato the censor, who was at all times against the sex, contributed greatly to get it passed.

The Voconian law.

This year a census was made, at which there appeared, according to Livy, two hundred and sixty nine thousand and fifteen citizens, able to bear arms.

In Spain, the Celtiberians, who were supposed to have been intirely subdued ever since Sempronius's great victory, revolted again, and attacked the prætor Claudius's camp, but were repulsed with the loss of fifteen thousand men.

580.

C. Cicereius, prætor of Sardinia, subdues the rebel Corsicans. The consul Posthumius Albinus introduces the custom of obliging the cities belonging

belonging to the Roman provinces, to defray the expences of the consuls in their passage through the country, and to furnish horses and carriages for them and their retinue. Hitherto the great officers used to travel at the expence of the government, and none but the couriers of the republic had a right to demand horses gratis. Posthumius was employed in Campania, in punishing numbers of private people for having usurped the republic's demesnes, since Capua had been recovered from Hannibal.

The Statielliates subdued.

Equity of the Roman senate.

His colleague, M. Popilius Lænas, marches of his own head into the territory of the Statielliates (*†*), a people in Liguria, who had committed no sort of hostility against the Romans: coming to an engagement with them, he obtains a complete victory, takes away their arms, and sells them into slavery. What more could he have done, had he to deal with the most inveterate enemies of Rome? But the Statielliates were the only people in Liguria, who had never declared against the republic. The senate pass a decree, commanding Popilius to restore the money he had received for the sale of the Statielliates, to set them at liberty, to give them back their effects and their arms, and immediately to quit the province. The decree concluded with these remarkable terms: *victory is glorious, when confined to the subduing of an untractable enemy; but becomes ignominious, when tending only to oppress the unfortunate.* Here we see a strong specimen of the policy of the Romans, who still endeavoured to conceal their ambition from the public view.

581.

M. Popilius, instead of executing the order of the senate, pretends he had a right to pursue the same mistaken conduct in quality of proconsul. He attacks the Statielliates a second time, and kills ten thousand of their men; upon which, all the Ligurians have recourse to arms: so that the senate were now resolved to punish him for two crimes, his inhumanity, and his disobedience, which might have involved the republic in a troublesome war. The prætor C. Licinius is appointed commissioner to try him. Popilius is acquitted by means of the prætor's indulgence, and the influence of his brother Caius Popilius, who was consul that year. The latter, in consequence of a new decree of the senate, restored the Statielliates to their liberty, and allowed them lands on the other side of the Po: by which means Liguria was pacified.

The two consuls had been chosen out of the plebeian order, a thing as yet unprecedented, though it became afterwards very common. Father Catrou, with great probability, conjectures, that the Romans insensibly accustomed themselves to make scarce any distinction between those families that were noble by extraction, and those ennobled by great employments.

(*†*) A people about Montserrat in Italy; their chief town on the river Bormia, called *Aqua Statiella*, still retains the name of *Acqui*.

582.

War with Perſes, king of Macedon. This prince, immediately after his father's deceaſe, began to prepare for war with the Romans. He uſed all his endeavours to make friends in Greece and Aſia, to repopulate his dominions, and to fill his coffers by the working of mines, of which there was great plenty in his kingdom. He ſucceeded in every point. The ſenate was informed by Eumenes king of Pergamus, who made a ſpecial journey to Rome, that Perſes had gained the affection of the Boeotians, and that the other people of Greece openly inclined to favour him; that Seleucus king of Syria, and Pruſias king of Bithynia, had entered into an alliance with him, the former by giving him his daughter in marriage, the latter by marrying his ſiſter; that he had an army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, with provisions for ten years, and money in his coffers ſufficient to defray the expence of ten thouſand mercenaries the ſame ſpace of time, and arms for thrice that number of troops: in ſhort, that he had raiſed an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers in Thrace. The intelligence and counſels which Eumenes gave to the ſenate, had like to have coſt him his life: for Perſes hired four aſſaſſins, who wounded him in ſo dangerous a manner, that he was left a few moments for dead. They were apprized at the ſame time by Lucius Rammius, an illuſtrious citizen of Brundifium, that Perſes had endeavoured to prevail on him by bribes, to poiſon the Roman generals and ambaffadors, who always lodged at his houſe, in their way, either from Rome to Greece, or from Greece to Rome. Upon this, war was declared. But the Romans had concerted their meaſures ſtill better than the king of Macedon. Eumenes was intirely devoted to them. Antiochus Epiphanes having ſeized on the throne of Syria after the death of his brother Seleucus, courted their protection, in order to maintain his uſurpations in Egypt over the two Ptolemies: while, on the other hand, the regency of that kingdom founded their chief hopes in the republic. Ariarathes, king of Capadocia, had entered into engagements with Rome, and with Eumenes, to whom he had married his daughter. Pruſias wanted to ſtand neuter. In Africa, Maſiniſſa was always ready to ſhew his attachment to Rome, and the Carthaginians were obliged to follow the fortune of this republic.

The prætor Cn. Sicinius, who had been ſent into Greece the preceding year, marched with a Roman legion, and ſeized on the forts ſituate in the country of the *Daffarctæ* (*h*), in order to intercept Gentius, one of the petty kings of Illyricum, who ſeemed inclined to declare for Perſes. This prince has an interview with the commissioners, who had been ſent from Rome to negotiate with the people of Greece: and a truce is agreed upon, that Perſes might have time to ſend ambaffadors, in order to clear himſelf to the Roman ſenate. This was the firſt

(*h*) A people of Macedonia.

The battle
of Sycuria.

mistake of any consequence, committed by the king of Macedon. De-
luded with the hopes of a peace, which the republic was determined
not to grant him, he gave the commissioners full leisure to bring over
to their party the several petty states of Greece, and even all Bœotia,
while he neglected to stop up the passes through which the Roman ar-
mies were to march. The consul Licinius finding the passes open, enters
Thessaly without opposition. The battle of *Sycuria*, at the foot of
mount Ossa, where the Macedonian cavalry defeated the Roman horse.
The phalanx was now ready to fall upon the legions, with all the
advantage that must naturally have followed from the routing of
the enemy's horse, when Perseus, contrary to reason, orders a retreat.
The next day he advanced with his army to renew the engagement;
but the Romans had passed the river Peneus in the night, and retired
to an advantageous post. Perseus then perceiving that the only fruit of
his late victory, would be at the most to obtain a peace, sends deputies
to ask it of the consul, upon the same terms as had been granted
to his father Philip: but he received for answer, that he must not hope
for peace, unless he would submit himself and his kingdom to the dis-
cretion of the Roman senate. He sends again to the consul, and offers
to pay a more considerable tribute than that which had been imposed
on his father Philip; yet he received the same answer. It was the
custom of the Romans, says Livy, to behave in adversity with the
same confidence, as if they had been successful, and always to conduct
themselves with moderation in prosperity. The remainder of the cam-
paign was spent in expeditions of no consequence on both sides. The
prætor Lucius Lucretius, who commanded the fleet, having taken the
town of Haliarta in Bœotia by storm, gives it up to be plundered, and
orders it to be razed to the ground.

M. Furius Philus and M. Matienus, ancient prætors of Spain, went
into voluntary exile, to avoid the punishment due for their extortions.
The Spaniards were ready to impeach a great many more of their
former governors; but the number was so considerable, that the senate
thought proper to stop the mouths of the accusers, and were pleased
only to make a decree for preventing any future oppression of the
provinces.

Colony founded at Carteia (*m*) in Spain, for the children begot by
Roman officers and soldiers upon Spanish women; they had lands as-
signed them, with the privileges of a Roman colony.

The legions which the consul Licinius took with him to Macedon,
consisted of six thousand foot and three hundred horse. But before this
time a legion had never more than five thousand two hundred foot.
The people, in consequence of a decree of the senate, ordain that
this year the legionary tribunes should be chosen by the consuls and

(*m*) A town of Spain, near the Streight's mouth, called by the Greeks *Tartessus*,
a name well known among the poets. *Preferat occiduis Tartessia litora Phœbus*;
Ovid. Met. lib. 14. The harbour is still remaining with a castle, called *torre di*
Cartagena, by corruption from *Carteia*.

prætors, instead of being appointed, according to custom, by the suffrages of the citizens.

583.

The generals of the foregoing year signalized themselves in nothing but oppression : complaints on every side were continually coming to Rome from her allies, and particularly from the inhabitants of Chalcis, who accused Lucretius of having treated their city as if it had been taken by storm. He is accused before the people by two tribunes, and condemned in a fine of a million of *asses* : but notwithstanding this example of severity, L. Hortensius, who succeeded Lucretius in the command of the fleet, gave room for the same complaints.

The consul Hostilius attempts in vain to penetrate into Macedon thro' the streight of Elyma, and Thessaly : he is repulsed in both places.

In Spain, a fanatic soldier, whose name was Salondicus, excites a general revolt among the Celtiberians : his scheme was to begin with assassinating the prætor Junius Pennus, for which he pretended to have received directions from heaven. Upon his being detected, and killed upon the spot, the revolt was easily appeased.

584.

The people recover the privilege of naming the legionary tribunes.

The commission for enlisting recruits was transferred this time to the two prætors of Rome, instead of the consuls. This arose from the difficulty the consuls met with, in making the citizens give in their names to recruit the armies in Spain and Macedon.

Death of the poet Ennius at the age of seventy. He was born at Rudia, a small town in the territory of Tarentum. He had the honour of a statue erected to him over the tomb of Scipio Africanus, whose exploits he celebrated in an historical poem : he did the same in regard to Fulvius, who took him in his retinue, when he went to put an end to the war in Ætolia.

The affairs of the Romans were in a very bad way in the East, when the consul Marcius arrived in Thessaly. Perseus had found his account in keeping the war at a distance from his own dominions ; and to judge by the several expeditions in which he spent the winter in Illyricum, in order to secure the strong places bordering on his own frontiers, one would have imagined he was resolved not to depart from this prudent conduct : but to the surprize of all the world, he shut himself up in Macedonia. Having taken care to guard the widest passes, he suffered Marcius to advance without any other opposition, than what he met with from the natural difficulty of the roads through mountains and defiles almost impervious. The Romans were obliged to exert themselves in a most extraordinary manner, to get out of this scrape ; and the consul himself confessed, that it would have been a very easy matter for the king of Macedon to destroy the Roman army, had he attacked them upon their march : so that nothing but success could have excused the Roman general. He penetrates into Macedonia, and,

and makes himself master of Diium and Agassia, two considerable cities. But the want of provisions obliges him to retire towards Thessaly, where he takes Heraclea. Then it was that Marcius, after seizing on all the passes leading to the vale of Tempe, caused the roads to be levelled from Macedonia to Thessaly; a work which facilitated his receiving of convoys during the winter. Perseus seemed to be absolutely infatuated. As soon as he heard that the consul had broke into Tempe, he cried, *Alas! I am conquered now, without fighting a stroke!* Immediately he gives orders to his favourites Nicias and Andronicus to set fire to his ships, and to throw his treasure into the sea; but repenting so desperate a resolution, he quickly sends counter orders. Nicias not having executed the king's commands, was punished for his dilatoriness; and Andronicus, who had executed them, was chastised for precipitation. Perseus caused them both to be assassinated, as well as the divers, whom he had employed to recover his treasure from the bottom of the sea.

The prætor, C. Marcius Figulus, who had the command of the fleet, undertakes several sieges, which he is obliged to raise. Embassy from Prusias and the Rhodians to Rome, in favour of Perseus. The speech of the Rhodian ambassadors to the senate, was not rightly calculated to bring about an accommodation: those islanders gave themselves airs, and pretended to command the Romans to conclude a peace with Perseus: all the answer they received was, that the Romans intended to punish or reward every nation according to their behaviour, as soon as they had conquered Perseus; which they hoped they should be able to effect directly.

Paulus Æmilius has the conduct of the Macedonian war.

In pursuance of this resolution, the republic, being displeased to see the superiority of her arms over Perseus so long contended, used her best endeavours to put the matter beyond all manner of doubt; with this view she conferred the consulate on Paulus Æmilius, the ablest of all her generals. This is the same, who thirteen years before obtained a complete victory over the Ligurians with a much inferior army. Since that time the people had intirely laid him aside, and did not remember him in the distribution of preferments, till they became sensible of their distress for want of such a general. Paulus Æmilius was almost sixty, when he was raised to his second consulate. A very remarkable story is told of this great man. He wanted to repudiate his wife Papiria, and as he happened to communicate his design one day to some of his friends, *What is it you are a going to do?* said they; *is not your wife fair? is not she chaste? has she not bore you most hopeful children?* True, answered Æmilius with all the coolness in the world, *but look at my shoe, is it not new? is it not neat and well made? and yet I must leave it off: but nobody except myself can tell where it pinches me.* Before he married again, he adopted his two sons, by the former marriage, into the greatest and noblest houses of Rome; the eldest into the Fabian, the youngest into the Cornelian family. The latter was adopted by a son of the great Scipio, and merited the name of *Africanus the second*; but before that time he had been called Scipio Æmilianus.

535.

The commanders were not chosen this year by lot. Licinius thought it his duty to yield the preference to his colleague Paulus Æmilius, whom the public were desirous of seeing invested with the command of the army in Macedon. Æmilius insisted upon appointing the officers that were to serve under him; and at the same time it was regulated that all the legionary tribunes should be chosen from among those citizens, who had served as magistrates. Polybius, a cotemporary historian, who was present upon the spot, and had made a considerable figure in his native country Achaia, pretends that the Roman forces must have been at least a hundred thousand effective men, reckoning the reinforcement which Marcius brought last year to Greece, the troops that Paulus Æmilius was to conduct himself in person, with those which the prætor Anicius Gallus was to command in Illyricum, and those belonging to the fleet under the prætor Cneius Octavius.

Perfes, on the other hand, made the most formidable preparations against the Romans. Nothing could be better concerted than his project of a grand alliance in the East, and the resolution he took to hire a body of the *Bastarnæ*, a people originally sprung from Gaul or Germany, but now settled on the banks of the Borysthenes, and who were to pass into Illyricum, in order to penetrate from thence into the heart of Italy. This scheme would have succeeded, had not avarice obtained a greater sway, than honour and reason, over Perfes's heart. Twenty thousand *Bastarnæ*, half foot, and half horse, were already assembled by his orders on the confines of Illyricum; but when they came to ask for their pay, Perfes took disgust and sent them back. Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had hitherto been so faithful an ally to the Romans, offered to observe a neutrality, upon paying him a very large sum; and this the king of Macedon refused to comply with. With regard to Gentius king of Illyricum, he was a young unexperienced prince, who suffered himself to be cajoled into an open rupture with Rome, before he touched any of the money which Perfes had promised him: however, he saw himself a dupe to his own credulity, and deprived of the possibility of retreating. The Rhodians had no occasion for any other inducement to join Perfes, than their own private bickerings with the Romans; and accordingly they joined him.

The prætor Anicius makes a successful expedition into Illyricum, and subdues that kingdom in less than a month. The rapidity of this conquest is not so surprizing, when the circumstances are known. Gentius was so terrified at the first approach of the prætorian forces, that he shut himself up, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in the city of Scodra, the key of his dominions. Anicius besieges this place, and Gentius is obliged to march out with his troops in order to raise the siege. The Illyrian king is beaten, and retires back to the town with such precipitation, that a great number of his soldiers are crushed to death in entering the gates. He then sends to the prætor, desires

T

a con-

a conference, repairs to his camp, begs hard on his knees for a peace, and surrenders himself, his family, and his kingdom at discretion.

Conduct of
the war of
Macedonia.

Paulus Æmilius had to deal with a very different sort of enemy. Perſes was brave, and experience had rendered him cautious. Sensible of his mistake last year in waiting for the Romans in Macedonia, he was now resolved to oppose the consul in passing the river Enipeus in Thessaly. Æmilius had privately sent a considerable detachment to take possession of Pythium, a strong town, situate on the top of mount Olympus, which separates Thessaly from Macedonia. Pythium is taken. Upon which, Perſes thinks it is no longer time to dispute the passage with the Romans, but retires to Pydna in Macedonia, whither the consul pursues him. Battle of Pydna. The victory was long disputed by the Macedonian Phalanx; so that the Roman consul was obliged to have recourse to a new stratagem, before he could break it. Having perceived that the foremost ranks of that body seemed to stagger, and to be thrown into some confusion, when attacked on different sides at the same time, he ordered the legionaries to form themselves into several sharp pointed battalions, to attack the enemy on all sides, and to penetrate through the first opening they saw. The success answered his wishes: when the phalanx was once opened, it ceased to have any advantage of the legion, being obliged then to fight man to man. It is said that the Romans lost no more than a hundred men in this engagement: as for Perſes's army, out of forty five thousand men, about five and twenty thousand were killed, and six thousand made prisoners.

Battle of
Pydna.

Perſes did not think he should be safe in the town of Pydna, which indeed was taken a little after the battle: he therefore withdrew to Pella, his capital, where, finding himself deserted by his troops and friends, he fled to Amphipolis, a neutral city, which shut her gates against him. Upon this, he embarked with his family and treasure for the island of Samothracia, subject to his jurisdiction: here he was blocked up by the Roman fleet, under the prætor Octavius, who published a proclamation, declaring that all those who quitted the service of king Perſes, and surrendered themselves to the Romans, should have their lives and liberties. Then it was that Perſes saw plainly, that of all the rights which a sovereign has to his crown, none is so strong and so sacred, as that founded in the affection of his subjects: but of this his avarice and cruelty had rendered him unworthy. They strove, as it were, who should surrender themselves first to the prætor: the several officers of Perſes's household came and gave in their names to the legionary tribune; the governor of the prince's children did the same, and delivered them up to Octavius; in short, Perſes's hearing that all Macedon had submitted to the Romans, resolved to follow their example. Paulus Æmilius beholding the most powerful king in Europe at his mercy, did not use his victory with insolence, but stepped forward upon the approach of this prince, gave him his hand as a mark of hospitality, and endeavoured to sooth his affliction

Perſes sur-
renders
himself to
the Romans.

affliction with the most lenient language. Æmilius professed a philosophy that would not permit him to be elated with his victories; he was of the stoic sect, who attribute all sublunary events to a fatal necessity.

The case was far otherwise in regard to the generality of the Romans: it is incredible how greatly their hearts were elated with such amazing successes: of this the behaviour of Popilius Lænas is a glaring instance. Every body must have heard of the haughty behaviour of that ambassador towards Antiochus, in insisting upon an immediate answer to the orders of the republic, by which that prince was forbid to continue his conquests in Egypt. Popilius drew a circle round him in the sand, with a rod which he held in his hand; and then putting on an air of importance, *before you stir out of this circle*, said he, *you must give me an answer to carry back to the senate*. The king, struck with this strange behaviour, hesitated a moment, and said he would obey. Thus only a word or two from a Roman citizen disarmed Syria, and protected Egypt. Antiochus sent ambassadors to Rome, to assure the senate of his submission: at the same time that capital beheld the deputies of Egypt and Rhodes; with Masgaba, son of Masinissa, king of Numidia; Attalus, brother of Eumenes, king of Pergamus; and Prusias, king of Bithynia, who were come to congratulate the republic upon her late conquest. The answer given to the Syrian ambassadors, was, *that Antiochus had done very right in executing the orders of the senate, and that the republic was satisfied with his conduct*. To the Egyptians, assurances were given that Rome would always continue to protect them. The Rhodians were treated roughly: with much difficulty could they obtain that war should not be declared against them; and they looked upon themselves as fortunate, in losing only Lycia and Caria, which were taken from them by a decree of the senate: on this occasion Cato the censor spoke loudly in their favour. Masgaba, Prusias, and Attalus, were loaded with honours and presents. The senate made a great difference between Attalus and Eumenes his brother; the former had not ceased, during the last war, to give marks of his attachment to the republic; while the other, as we have observed, was ready to betray her interests. Eumenes having resolved to make a voyage to Italy, in order to reinstate himself in the good graces of the Romans, the senate finding themselves embarrassed how to receive him, passed a decree, forbidding all kings to come to Rome, unless they were sent for; and this having been signified to Eumenes, he put back directly. Here indeed the Romans enjoyed all the advantages they had promised themselves from the conquest of Macedon.

The censors, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, and C. Claudius Pulcher, confine all the freedmen to the Esquiline tribe: hitherto they had been dispersed among the four tribes of the city, where they occasioned a great deal of disturbance.

586.

The provinces assigned the consuls, were Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, which they plunder. All these expeditions into Liguria and Gaul, ought to be considered as a consequence of Roman policy, the republic chusing to have her legions constantly employed.

Macedonia and Illyricum are restored to their liberty, on the footing of republics tributary to the Romans, *to the end*, said the senatorial decree, *that all nations may know, that the Roman arms do not aim at enslaving free people, but restoring those who are in servitude to their liberty*. By this decree it was determined, that each of those countries should be divided into four regions, and that they should only pay to the people of Rome, half the tribute which they had used to pay to their kings. The other regulations were left to the prudence of the generals Æmilius and Anicius, and the fifteen commissioners sent from Rome, ten for Macedon, and five for Illyricum. These commissioners having made an enquiry after all the Greeks, as well in Europe as in Asia, who had appeared to be adherents to Perses, either punished them on the spot, or brought them to Rome; and among the latter were many Achæans. Before the arrival of the deputies, Anicius subdued Epirus, which had granted succours to Illyricum; and the consul Æmilius completed the ruin of that country, in compliance with an order from the senate: all the cities were plundered and razed to the ground, and a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants were made slaves. It is said that the execution of this terrible sentence drew tears from the generous Æmilius.

Epirus subdued and plundered.

Triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

A triumph is granted to Æmilius, which lasts three days. To give some idea of the immense treasure displayed on this occasion, let it suffice to observe, that it enabled the government to lay no taxes upon the people till the time of Augustus; and that two hundred and fifty waggons were loaded with the most exquisite statues, pictures, and other productions of ingenious artists, of which the palaces of the Macedonian king had been stripped. This unfortunate prince walked on foot, and clad in black, before his conqueror's chariot: he had begged of Æmilius to exempt him from the disgrace of this ceremony; but the Roman general made answer, that he had it in his own power to procure himself that exemption, if he pleased. This was plainly intimating, that the ignominy might be prevented by a voluntary death, which, according to the prejudices of the Pagans, was an honourable action. This triumph, so glorious to the republic, was contested with Æmilius, even by those who were to partake of the honour. His soldiers, dissatisfied with the severity of his discipline, and with his having reserved the greatest part of the booty for the public treasure, appeared in the comitia the day that the triumph of their general was to be decided, and with one voice refused him their suffrages. The senate, displeased with the affront done to so great a man, and alarmed at the bad consequences that might attend such a combination, which threatened to subject the general to his soldiers, prevailed on the tribunes of the people to defer polling, till the

the matter was more maturely debated. M. Servilius, a consular person, spoke in favour of Æmilius, and brought all those refractory men to reason.

The proprætors Anicius and Octavius triumphed also, the former for subduing Gentius, the latter for compelling Perſes to surrender, and for the advantages obtained by sea.

587.

The consuls had no other provinces assigned them than Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul. For some slight expeditions in those parts they received the honour of a triumph: this was an inducement to the generals and soldiers not to be disgusted with those wars, in appearance unimportant, but extremely useful in a political view. C. Sulpicius, one of this year's consuls, had some skill in astronomy; for while he served under Paulus Æmilius, he predicted a lunar eclipse, which was to happen the evening before the battle of Pydna: this was doing great service to the Roman troops, who were generally (b) very much frightened at such events.

The Rhodians are received once more into favour by the senate, who seemed moved at their repentance, and at the severity with which they punished all those who were convicted of having joined either by word or act with Perſes.

588.

The war continued this and the following years in Liguria, without any remarkable event.

At this same time the poet Terence flourished at Rome: upon Terence occasion of the *ludi Megalenses*, he brought his play, called *Hecyra*, on flourish at the stage, which, in the beginning, did not meet with all the success Rome, it deserved.

589.

At the census this year, there appeared to be three hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and fifty two citizens fit to bear arms: this list was taken by the censors Paulus Æmilius, and Marcius Philippus.

Perſes dies at Alba, where he was held in cruel bondage (c). He Death of had two sons, one of whom is thought to have died before him, the Perſes, other

(b) Not only the Romans, but most other nations were frightened at eclipses; particularly in the Macedonian camp on the abovementioned occasion, the army were terribly amazed, and began to consider that phenomenon, as portending the extinction of their empire.

(c) We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that after the triumph, Perſes was sent back to the gaol, and put among the meanest criminals, in which state he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people in the prison to give him a part of their provision; which they accordingly did, and at the same time procured for him a rope and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which however he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of Æmilius, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody; at Alba, where he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned

Death of
Antiochus
Epiphanes,

other survived his father, and was obliged to work for his bread. (d). This year also died Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and Antiochus Epiphanes, or the *Illustrious*, king of Syria: the death of the latter is related at large by the author of the book of Macchabees. He was struck from above, as he was hastening towards Jerusalem with an intent to extirpate the Jewish religion. Ariarathes Philopater, son and successor of the king of Cappadocia, immediately sent ambassadors to Rome, demanding a renewal of the alliance with his father, which was granted him.

590.

Conduct of
the Romans
in regard to
the suc-
cession of Syria.

The succession of the throne of Syria was disputed by Antiochus Eupater, son of the last king, and by Demetrius, son of Seleucus, who was kept an hostage at Rome. The latter had an incontestable right, Antiochus Epiphanes having been no more than an usurper; yet the Roman senate declared against the legitimate successor, and of their own authority appointed three of their body to govern Syria, under the name of guardians to Antiochus, then but nine years old. It had been the case more than once, for kings to put themselves under the wardship of the Romans; but there never had been any instance that those republicans set themselves up for guardians to princes without being asked. This is a farther proof of their aiming at an authority over crowned heads. Their secret views were soon disclosed, by the orders sent to those pretended guardians to burn all the ships with decks, belonging to the king of Syria, and to disable his elephants.

An army, under the command of the consul Juventius, is sent over to Corsica, to quiet a revolt of the inhabitants of that island.

591.

Cn. Octavius Nepos, head of the deputation sent by the Romans into Syria, is assassinated upon entering that kingdom, by order of Lyfias, a relation of the late king, who pretended to the regency during the minority of Antiochus. This Octavius is the first of the family that obtained the consulate. Octavius Cæsar, surnamed Augustus, the second Roman emperor, was of the same family, but of another branch. The senate ordered a statue to be erected in honour of him we are speaking of, as had been the custom in regard to great men, who had sacrificed their lives for their country. Prince Demetrius makes his escape from Rome, and embarks for the East, by the advice of the

assigned him. After he had lived two years in this fond love of life, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they would not suffer him to sleep, so that by continual watching, they brought him to his end. This account of the vanity of human grandeur, and of the natural and innate humanity of the Romans, (as Diodorus is pleased to stile it) is preserved by Phot. in Biblioth. p. 1157.

(d.) The name of the eldest was Philip, of the youngest Alexander; the latter was put out to a joiner or carpenter, and grew an ingenious man in his profession; he addicted himself to the Latin learning, and became afterwards a clerk or secretary to the senate; which was a most remarkable instance of the Roman pride,

cele.

celebrated historian Polybius, at that time detained in Rome with a great number of Achaean noblemen, whom the Romans intended to arraign after the Macedonian war.

592.

The *Fannian law* against extravagant entertainments; it fixed the sums to be spent at repasts, and took its name from the consul Fannius, whom the senate commissioned to propose it in the comitia. The Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, whose schools began to multiply greatly in Rome, especially since the defeat of Perseus, are banished the city by order of the senate, at the motion of the prætor Pomponius. This magistrate insisted, that none but military exercises were suitable to the Roman youth. Demetrius, upon his arrival in Syria, is proclaimed king by the consent of all the inhabitants, and receives the glorious surname of *Soter*, or *Deliverer*. Eupater and Lycias are put to death by the soldiers. The death of those princes might be looked upon as a punishment of the outrages they had committed against God's people; and yet Demetrius Soter followed their example.

593.

Bacchis, one of his generals, defeats the celebrated Judas Macchabeus, high priest, and chief of the Jews; who had often routed the Syrian armies, but fell in this engagement. Before his decease, he did an important piece of service to his country, by putting it under the protection of the Romans, with whom he concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance.

Death of Æmilius, a general, who appeared greater after his death than in his life time: he, who had brought such immense sums with him from Macedon to enrich the republic, died so poor, that a considerable part of his effects was obliged to be sold, in order to pay his second wife's dowry. This able captain, who had subdued the Spaniards, the Ligurians, and the Macedonians, was, nevertheless, so greatly beloved by them, that as many of those nations as were present, disputed who should have the honour of carrying his body to the funeral pile.

594.

The censors, Scipio Nasica and Popilius Lænas, demolish all the statues that had been made for private people, without the consent of the senate. During the administration of these magistrates, a census was made, by which there appeared to be three hundred and thirty eight thousand three hundred and fourteen citizens able to bear arms. Nasica was the first that introduced the use of *clepsydra's*, or *water clocks*, into Rome, to mark the hours of the night; for the Romans had hitherto no other contrivance to note the hours than sun-dials (b).

595.

(b) The Roman hours differed from those of the moderns. For they reckoned twelve hours of the day, long and short, according to the length and shortness of the day

595.

Artarathes Philopater, king of Cappadocia, is constrained, by a decree of the senate, to share his kingdom with one Orofernes, who pretended to be son to the late king. Orofernes was only a supposititious son, and that was a fact very well known over all Cappadocia; but it was ever the policy of the Romans to weaken monarchical states by dismembering them. In pursuance of this principle they likewise obliged Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, to give half of his dominions to Ptolemy Evergetes, or *Physcon*, his younger brother.

596.

War with
the Dalma-
tians.

Embassy sent to Dalmatia, a province bordering upon, and heretofore part of, Illyricum. In the reign of king Gentius, the Dalmatians recovered their liberty: after the defeat of that prince, they employed themselves chiefly in making incursions upon their neighbours, without considering that they were now become the allies of Rome. The ambassador whom the republic sent to complain of this proceeding, and to desire the Dalmatians would repair the injuries committed, was very ill received; so that immediately upon his return war was declared. The senate were glad to have an opportunity of going to war.

597.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated at
first, but
afterwards
victorious.

The conduct of this war was committed to the consul C. Marcius Figulus, who was beaten at first, as the Romans frequently were, when they came to engage with new enemies; but he soon had his revenge, and made himself master of a great number of towns, which he plundered and destroyed.

598.

The taking
of Delmi-
nium.

His successor Scipio Nasica, to put an end to the war, wanted only to reduce *Delminium* (c), the capital of the country: but as it was provided with a numerous garrison, he thought proper to make a diversion, and put the enemy upon a wrong scent. With this view he made a feint to attack some neighbouring place, which having

day and night. But after the invention of bells, they divided day and night into twenty-four hours. The *clepsydra* served not only to mark the hours of the night, but also of the day, in cloudy weather. It was made in the following manner: they took a glass vessel, at the bottom of which was a small hole, with a gold rim, to prevent its being worn out by the water. On the other side of the vessel, they drew a straight line, on which were marked twelve hours. They filled it with water, which dropped through the hole; and upon the water they put a piece of cork, with a small hand or index, which pointed to the first hour; and as the water gradually dropped, it shewed all the succeeding hours. Thus they called it *clepsydra*, which signifies as if the water was stolen out.

(c) *Delminium*, by Strabo called *Dalmion*, was formerly a great city, from whence the country took the name of Dalmatia. There is no certainty in regard to its situation.

occa-

occasioned part of the garrison to come without the walls, he immediately turned back, and made himself master of the city. This expedition procured him the honour of a triumph; at least it was decreed him, but we know not whether he accepted of it: if he did not, it is to be presumed he acted thus through modesty, since he likewise declined the title of *Imperator*, which his soldiers would have unanimously conferred upon him.

Cato the censor, notwithstanding his advanced age, still made a figure at Rome: he frequently harangued the senate, and by his eloquence determined the suffrages of that august assembly: but he seemed rather to increase, than decline in his natural severity. Of this he gave a convincing proof in the speech pronounced before the senate, to persuade them to dismiss three celebrated philosophers and orators, Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes, who had been sent to Rome by the Athenians, in order to submit a dispute between them and the inhabitants of Oropus, a city of Bœotia, to the decision of the republic. Cato, alarmed at the eagerness with which the Roman youth crowded to hear those philosophers, went so far as to say, that he could have wished it was also possible to banish the physicians out of Rome, *a set of men whose profession was derived from too scrupulous a regard to health*: his advice was followed in regard to the former, but not to the latter.

599.

The Romans wage war for the first time in Transalpine Gaul, not against the Gauls, but against a people of Ligurian original, who had attacked the inhabitants of Marseilles, the ancient allies of Rome. Opimius quickly concluded this war, to the glory of the republic, and the advantage of her allies: having obtained several victories over the *Oxybians*, and the *Deceatae* (these were the names of the enemy) he adjudged part of their lands to the people of Marseilles, and obliged them to give hostages, whom they were to change from time to time.

On the other hand, the consul Posthumius was ordered to *Further Spain*, to appease a very considerable insurrection of the Lusitanians. These people, harassed and fatigued with the enormous oppressions of the Roman prætors, had taken up arms, and were headed by a bold and enterprising Carthaginian, whose first essay was giving battle to the prætor Calpurnius Piso, and defeating the legion under his command. The prætor, and his quæstor Terentius Varro, were killed in the engagement. The consul Posthumius, whom the republic had commissioned to revenge her cause, was prevented by death: Acilius Glabrio, who was chosen consul in his room, did not go to Spain, but was sent to Cisalpine Gaul, where he made a campaign, and acquired no glory.

600.

The new consuls enter upon their office the first of January, which was not usual before the fifteenth of March; but in the present circumstances

The Ro-
mans pene-
trate into
Transalpine
Gaul.

The Ro-
mans un-
successful in
Lusitania.

State of
affairs in
Spain.

stances dispatch was necessary, because of the Spanish war; and this example became a precedent for future elections. The revolt had spread itself to Celtiberia in Hither Spain. The whole country was in a flame, when the consul Fulvius and the prætor Mummius arrived in Spain; the former at the head of thirty thousand, the latter of fourteen thousand men. The consul marched into Celtiberia, where he had an engagement with an able general named Carus, who killed six thousand of his legionaries in an ambuscade. Fulvius also lost four thousand men in a battle fought under the walls of *Numantia* (d), the capital of the *Arevacæ* (e); and to complete his misfortune, the town of *Ocilis*, which he had made his magazine of arms, money, and provisions, surrendered itself voluntarily to the enemy. Thus deprived of every resource, he is obliged to pass the winter in his camp. In Lusitania, the prætor Mummius met in the beginning with a considerable check: but he had time to recover his loss; and his successes were such, if we may believe Appian, as to procure him a triumph.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

A CELEBRATED writer (f) has defined the right of conquest, a necessary, lawful, and unhappy right, which is always indebted in immense sums to human nature. The same author has taken care to explain the several cases in which a conquest may be lawful; and he has shewn that those cases are only when it is become necessary for the preservation of the people that undertake it. Applying this principle to the ancient Romans, we shall find the reasonableness of what I have elsewhere advanced, that their conquests were only a continuation of their robberies. The primitive Romans were not a civilized people, but a gang of freebooters, who could be entitled to nothing more than an asylum.

We may proceed a step further, and affirm, that at the period we are now come to, the Romans were animated by something more than the spirit of conquest, which with them was a consequence of the thirst of plunder. They were excited by ambition, a natural consequence of independence.

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos: to pardon submissive, and to subdue proud, nations, was the maxim the Romans pursued, when they had no longer any pretext to make conquests.

(d) *Numantia* was a famous town of Celtiberia in Spain, upon the river *Durius*, now *Duero*, which, according to Florus, had no walls or towers, but was built in the manner of Sparta; however, he is singular in this account. Strabo speaking of it, mentions τὸ τεῖχος, and Appian ἐπιστήματα. The remains of it are known by the name of *Puente Garay*, near the town of *Soria*.

(e) A people bordering on the river *Areva*, now *Arlonzo*, in Old Castile, in Spain.

(f) M. de Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, book 10, c. 4.

Before Rome had acquired sufficient strength to have nothing to fear from her neighbours, she might have been deceived, and have thought herself authorized to subdue them all by degrees, in order to enlarge her power, and to render herself formidable to all Italy. But when those different people were become, either her fellow citizens, or her allies; when Italy had submitted to her yoke; and when Carthage, in fine, that rival more formidable by her naval force, than by her possessions in the neighbourhood of Italy, was completely humbled; what pretence had the Romans to invade the peace and liberty of other nations? Their conduct was founded on pretensions the most vain, the most frivolous, and at the same time the most dreadful, being formed in the center of independence, and in the midst of conquests. They gave out, that Rome was called to universal sway; that she was made to give law to nations, and to spare only those who would submit to her dominion. They would fain make all nations bend under the weight of their republic, and pay homage to this universal empress! What pride! what insolence!

How odious were the artifices, by which they attempted to justify these abominable pretensions! Let us hear what M. de Montesquieu says on this subject, in the sixth chapter of his *Considerations on the Romans*. “As they never made peace sincerely, or
 “with any other design than to grasp at all, their treaties were, pro-
 “perly speaking, only a suspension of hostilities, which they clogged
 “with such conditions, as generally portended the ruin of that state
 “which accepted them After destroying a prince’s armies,
 “they ruined his finances by excessive taxes, or by a tribute, under
 “pretence of making him defray the expences of the war: a new
 “kind of tyranny, which obliged them to oppress, and of course to
 “forfeit the love of their subjects. Whenever they granted peace to a
 “prince, they took some of his brothers or children as hostages, which
 “enabled them to cause what disturbance they pleased in his domini-
 “ons. If they had the next heir, they intimidated the present possessor;
 “if they had a distant relation, they played him off in order to ex-
 “cite the subjects to rebellion. Whenever either a petty prince or a
 “whole nation shook off the allegiance due to their sovereign, they
 “immediately granted them the title of allies of the republic, whereby
 “they rendered their persons sacred and inviolate; so that there was no
 “monarch, how great soever, that could be a moment sure of the fi-
 “delity of his subjects, or even of his own family. Though the title
 “of their ally was a species of servitude, yet it was very much
 “courted; because they who enjoyed it were sure of being injured by
 “none but Romans, and they had reason to hope that those injuries
 “would diminish: hence there was no manner of services, but both
 “people and kings were ready to perform, no offices so mean,
 “but they would willingly submit to, in order to obtain that title.
 “. Whenever they restored a city to its liberty, they imme-
 “diately promoted two factions among the inhabitants: one de-
 “fended the laws and liberties of the country; the other maintained
 “there

“ there was no law but the will of the Romans ; and as the latter was
 “ generally predominant, it is obvious that all such liberty was only
 “ nominal. Sometimes they made themselves masters of a country,
 “ under pretence of succession or inheritance In order to reserve
 “ the military power to themselves, they disarmed even their very allies ;
 “ so that whenever there was the least dispute among the latter, the Ro-
 “ mans sent their ambassadors, who obliged them to accommodate
 “ matters When they happened to see two nations at war,
 “ though they had no alliance, nor concerns with either of them, still
 “ they would interfere ; and like our knight errants, they were sure to
 “ join the weakest side In case a country was involved in broils,
 “ they took upon them to adjudge the matter in dispute directly ; and
 “ thereby they could depend upon having none for their enemies, but
 “ the party condemned If they were princes of the same blood,
 “ who disputed the crown, sometimes they declared them both kings :
 “ if one of them was a minor, they decided in his favour, and under-
 “ took to be his guardians, as protectors of the universe : for they had
 “ carried things to such a pitch, that whole nations and kings were
 “ subject to their command, without knowing exactly for what ; and
 “ they had established it as a rule, that to have heard of their republic,
 “ was a sufficient ground of submission Sometimes they made a
 “ bad use of the chicanery of their own language ; thus they destroyed
 “ Carthage, pretending they had promised to preserve the city, and
 “ not the town. It is well known in what manner they deceived
 “ the *Ætoli*ans, who threw themselves on the honour and clemency
 “ of the republic : they pretended that the signification of these
 “ words, *to throw one's self on the honour of an enemy*, implied the
 “ surrender of every thing, of persons, lands, towns, temples, and
 “ sepulchres. They were even capable of giving an arbitrary inter-
 “ pretation to treaties : thus when they wanted to humble the *Rho-*
 “ *dians*, they pretended they had not made them a present of
 “ *Lycia*, but had deposited it into their hands, as friends and allies.
 “ When one of their generals made peace, to save his army from
 “ destruction, the senate refusing to ratify it, took advantage of that
 “ very peace, and continued the war. Thus when *Jugurtha* sur-
 “ rounded a Roman army, and suffered it to escape upon the faith of
 “ a treaty, they carried on the war against him with those very
 “ troops, which he had so generously spared : and when the *Numan-*
 “ *tines* had reduced twenty thousand Romans, ready to perish with
 “ hunger, to sue for peace ; that peace which saved the lives of so
 “ many citizens, was broke at Rome ; and they eluded the treaty,
 “ by sending back the consul who signed it.”

This whole chapter deserves to be transcribed ; but I chuse to refer
 the reader to the book itself. There he will find that the Romans,
 to satisfy their ambition, blended the most artful chicanery with the
 most horrid injustice ; that sometimes they made peace with a prince
 upon reasonable conditions, and when he had complied with them,
 they added such articles, as laid him under a necessity of recommencing
 the

the war; that as masters of the world, they laid claim to all its treasures, and sometimes by laws more iniquitous than their conquests themselves; that their magistrates and governors sold their unjust decisions to kings: and that in the administration of this scandalous traffick they did not even behave with the honour of common thieves, who observe a certain faith towards each other, &c.

Nothing is more offensive to pride than pride itself. The majesty of kings was always displeasing to the haughty Romans, and for this very reason was exposed to their most cruel insults: their fury and inveteracy against crowned heads are almost inconceivable. Juvenal had just reason to reproach them with having devoured kings even to the very marrow of their bones: *ossa vides regum vacuis exhausta medullis* (sat. viii.) Sometimes they raised creatures of their own to the regal dignity; but then it was only to have the pleasure of making tools of them: *ut haberent instrumenta servitutis et reges*.

Let us therefore no longer extol the generosity of the Romans towards conquered nations. If brutal courage is only a consciousness of superior strength, the generosity that may attend it, is no more than a consequence of that very consciousness, and no way inconsistent with the pride and insolence of conquerors. To destroy one's enemy or rival, is but a momentary conquest; to keep him in servitude, is a continual triumph. The generous hero is far from being proud; he spares the unfortunate, not to make them feel the weight of his arm, but to exercise his humanity.

The Romans, when in their greatest prosperity, seemed as if their aim in conquering was only to give away; or rather they seemed to wage war, not so much for the sake of conquering, as for that of extending their authority; which plainly shews their ambition. This has deceived many celebrated writers, who extol the Romans for having only endeavoured to subdue, but not to destroy; for studying rather to make friends, than subjects. But to shed torrents of human blood, in order to deprive people of their liberty; and to extort homage without just pretensions, what is this but destruction with a vengeance? And what a strange manner is it of acquiring friends by the sword? Are friends to be made by conquest?

When we behold the Romans subduing such a number of nations, most of which were more polished than themselves, we are surprized, we are even concerned. Is it that the arts and sciences enervate the mind, and deprive it of that vigour and activity which are essential to courage? Or is it that civilized nations are destined, sooner or later, to become a prey to barbarians? Upon reflexion, we shall find that these gloomy ideas are ill founded: we shall be convinced, that though so many civilized nations have fallen a prey to barbarians, it is not because they were civilized; but, on the contrary, it is because they were not civilized enough. It is because they were not acquainted with that profound policy, by which all civilized nations are now connected together, and even the smallest states partake of the united force of their neighbours. True it is, that a ferocious and warlike people will

will always be superior in strength to a nation that only cultivates the polite arts. In vain however would they attempt to overpower a multitude of polite nations, if these were but well united among themselves: armies would soon be raised by means of such an alliance; armies of resolute men, who would have great reason to expect success, their courage being founded on reason and good sense, and excited by motives far more noble and generous, than the barbarous fury of conquerors.

“ How simple soever the policy of an equilibrium of power may now appear, since the writings of some great men have made it familiar to us; let us but reflect, says the Abbé de Mably, what a slow progress it has made in Europe, and we shall not condemn the ancients for being strangers to it. Before modern governments could attain this high degree of policy, they were obliged to be long connected by a chain of negotiations, and to be actuated by the same hopes and fears.” (Book IV. Observations on the Romans.)

Upon the whole, though it has been generally the bad fortune of polite and learned states to submit to the yoke of nations less civilized and more enterprising than themselves, yet we may venture to conclude, that this will not happen again, unless the inroads of barbarism should plunge mankind once more into a total ignorance of their natural rights, and real interests.



SEVENTH CENTURY.

*Year of Rome 601.**Before Christ 153.*

THE consul Marcellus retakes the city of Ocilis in Spain: the Marcellus moderation with which he behaved towards the inhabitants, in requiring nothing more of them, than a sum of money, and hostages, engages the *Arevaci*, and other Celtiberian rebels, to sue for peace. Marcellus grants them a truce, in order to give time to their deputies to go and present themselves to the Roman senate. The prætor M. Attilius Serranus meets with some success in Lusitania.

602.

The senate, upon the representation of such of the Spaniards as had continued faithful to the republic, send private orders to Marcellus to pursue the war with more vigour than ever: but this general had other views; he was ambitious of being stiled the pacifier of Spain, and therefore was in a hurry to treat with the Celtiberians.

His successor, Lucullus, was more eager after plunder than glory: finding nothing further to do in Celtiberia, he enters the country of the *Vaccæi* without any commission from the senate, makes himself master of Cauca (g), massacres all the inhabitants able to bear arms, and reduces old men, women, and children into slavery, without any regard to the capitulation which he had concluded with those people. Intercata, another strong city belonging to the *Vaccæi*, surrenders to the consul: but he miscarries before Pallantia. The inhabitants of Intercata refused to surrender to any other person, than to Scipio *Æmilianus*, who served in the consular army as a legionary tribune; and who, notwithstanding his youth, behaved with such honour and bravery, as were strong presages of his future greatness. He was rewarded with a mural crown for being the first that mounted the wall, at the unsuccessful assault of Intercata; and he was victorious over a Spaniard of a gigantic size, who had challenged any of the Romans in single combat, and Scipio accepted of the challenge with the consent of his general. We may likewise observe a particular circumstance, (in which he very much resembles his adoptive grandfather) that the Roman youth having refused to enrol themselves for the Spanish war, which was looked upon as very destructive, Scipio, in the midst of so general a consternation, offered to go himself into Spain, and to serve as a legionary tribune, or in whatever other capacity the consuls should think fit. His example had an effect upon all the rest, and there soon appeared more officers and soldiers, than were wanting.

(g) A City of Spain, near the river Tagus.

Cruelty of
the Romans
in Spain.

The prætor Sulpicius Galba, who commanded the further province against the Lusitanians, behaved more infamously than the consul. Not satisfied with destroying the country by fire and sword, he had recourse to the foulest treachery to complete the ruin of a poor unhappy people. He made the Lusitanians believe, that he would transplant them to provinces far more fruitful than their own; and for this purpose he divided them into three colonies, which he took care to keep at a considerable distance from each other. When he had gained this point, he attacked them separately, and cut them in pieces. At this bloody scene, thirty thousand men, according to some authors, or according to others, only nine thousand, were inhumanly butchered. But out of their ashes rose an avenger, Viriathus, a young Spaniard, who having escaped the massacre, put himself at the head of his countrymen, and shed torrents of Roman blood.

603.

Lucullus and Galba continued in Spain the greatest part of the year; one in the quality of proconsul, the other as propriator.

Temple of
Piety, and
the occasion
of building
it.

It is thought, that Cisalpine Gaul fell to the lot of Quintius, as it had been the custom for some years to send a consul to that province, and that his colleague Acilius was detained at Rome about affairs of importance. This consul built a temple to *Piety*, to preserve the memory of an event worthy of being committed to posterity. A woman among the ordinary sort of people having been convicted of poisoning another person, was condemned to be put privately to death in a dungeon, according to the Roman custom in regard to women. They determined to starve her to death; in consequence whereof the gaol keeper took particular care that no provisions whatsoever should be brought her: but her daughter being admitted to see her often, her breasts administered a food capable of prolonging the unfortunate mother's life. The gaol keeper at length detected this pious fraud, and made his report thereof to the magistrates, who greatly commended the action, and out of regard to the daughter, generously pardoned the mother.

604.

The *Calpurnian law* against extortion. It is thought, that Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was the author of it, being at that time tribune of the people, took from thence the surname of *Frugi*, an honest man.

The third
Punic war.

The third Punic war. The motives proposed to the people in comitia, for entering into this new war against Carthage, were, that the Carthaginians, contrary to the faith of the last treaty, had fitted out a great number of ships of war; that they had gone beyond their limits to attack Masinissa, an ally of the Romans; and lastly, that they had refused to receive Gulissa, that prince's son, into their harbours, though conducted by the Roman ambassadors, whom they had also insulted. All this was true in some respects, but it is proper to observe, that the Carthaginians did not arm against Masinissa, till after the Romans had

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Marcus Claudius Marcellus, 3 ^o .	601	153	<i>Antiochus</i> , a native of Ascalon, taught philosophy at Rome, the year of that city 674	<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Jonathan, who succeeded his brother Judas Macchabeus, as general of the Jews, is made high priest the year before Christ 153
L. Valerius Flaccus.				He renews the alliance concluded with the Lacedæmonians and Romans, and some time after is arrested at Ptolemais. Jonathan went thither with only a thousand men, trusting to the faith of Tryphon, who wanted to usurp the kingdom of Syria from his pupil Antiochus, son of Alexander Balar.
Lucius Licinius Lucullus.	602	152	<i>Aquilius Gallus</i> , a Roman knight, and civilian, was tribune of the people the year of Rome 683	Simon, brother of Jonathan, is chosen prince and high priest of the Jews, in 144
Aulus Posthumius Albinus.				He took care to send Tryphon the ransom he asked for Jonathan and his sons; but no sooner had the tyrant received the money, than he ordered the father to be killed, and carried the sons with him into Syria. Simon, highly provoked at this perfidious behaviour, shakes off the yoke of the kings of Syria, in 143
T. Quintius Flaminius.	603	151		Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law, hoping to have the command after him, causes him to be treacherously killed with two of his sons.
M. Acilius Balbus.				The third named John, and surnamed Hyrcanus, was threatened with the same fate; but the assassins were discovered and put to death
Lucius Marcius Censorinus.	604	150	He was afterwards prætor along with Cicero, who bestows very great encomiums on him in his book <i>de claris oratoribus</i> ; he commends him especially for having invented the formula <i>de dolo male</i> , which this great orator calls <i>Everriculum malitiarum omnium</i> . There are several of his laws in the Digest.	
M. Manilius Nepos.				
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.	605	149		
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæforius.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus.	606	148		
C. Livius Mamilianus Drusus.				
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	607	147		
L. Mummius Achæicus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.	608	146	<i>Alfenus Varus</i> , a civilian, born at Cremona.	
L. Hostilius Mancinus.				
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.	609	145	It was he that made the first collections of the civil law, and gave them the name of <i>Digest</i> .	
L. Aurelius Cotta.				
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.	610	144		
App. Claudius Pulcher.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.	611	143	<i>Caius Trebatius Testa</i> . This civilian was also a poet; and as such Horace addresses two of his satyrs to him. He wrote nine books on religion, which are mentioned by Macrobius. It was he that introduced the use of codicils.	
Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.				
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.	612	142		
Q. Pompeius Nepos.				
Q. Servilius Cæpio.	613	141		
Caius Laelius Sapiens.				
M. Popilius Lænas.	614	140		
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.	615	139		
Decius Junius Brutus Callaicus.			<i>Hortensius (Quintus)</i> consul the year of Rome 684	
M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina.	616	138	It is a sufficient eulogium of this orator, to observe that he disputed the prize of eloquence even with Cicero	
L. Hostilius Mancinus.				
P. Furius Philus.	617	137		
Sextus				

had in some measure denied them justice. The latter set themselves up for supreme arbitrators of all nations, consequently they ought to have behaved with the same impartiality to all: was it not therefore proper for them to pay some regard to the repeated complaints of the Carthaginians against the encroachments of the king of Numidia? Whereas, they were satisfied with sending commissioners, who determined nothing, merely that Masinissa might have full leisure to complete his undertaking. The Carthaginians are more inexcusable, in regard to their behaviour towards Gulissa and the Roman ambassadors; they are likewise to blame for having refused to submit to the determination of Cato the censor, who had been sent with full power to settle their disputes with Masinissa; and, in short, for having suffered Scipio Nasica, who was upon the same errand, to be insulted by the populace. They were both of opinion that war should be declared against Carthage: but how great a difference between the two men! The former acted merely from a spirit of revenge, his predominant passion: whenever he gave his opinion in the senate, (which, as hath been observed, he frequently did) he always concluded with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage ought to be destroyed.* On whatever subject the senate deliberated, this was the burden of his song. The latter, though he had a great deal more reason to complain, said that Carthage ought to be humbled and weakened, but not demolished. He was apprehensive, that after the destruction of this rival commonwealth, the Romans would no longer set bounds to their ambition; and that for want of foreign enemies, they would quarrel among themselves: the event plainly shewed he was not mistaken.

It is obvious, that the chief motive which determined the Romans to declare war the third time against Carthage, was the distress of that republic; for the Carthaginians had lately met with a terrible defeat in Numidia, where Masinissa cut their army of sixty thousand men in pieces. As soon as these unfortunate people heard of the great preparations which Rome was making for war, they sent ambassadors to offer every kind of satisfaction; but they received only vague and unsatisfactory answers: the people of Utica, the second city in Africa, having in the mean time surrendered themselves to the Romans, a resolution was taken to push things to extremity, and to demolish Carthage. The senate of this rival city at length perceived there was no other way to save their country, than to yield themselves up by way of *dedition*; and the proposal was made to the Romans, who seemed to be satisfied with it. Nevertheless, the two consuls were ordered to set sail for Africa, where they landed, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Utica, with an army of eighty four thousand men.

The Romans pass over into Africa.

Hard treatment of the Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, by the step they had taken, had already acknowledged themselves a conquered people, and naturally expected to be treated as such: they were afflicted, but not surprized, when the Romans demanded three hundred hostages, all sons of senators, or of
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CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Sextus Attilius Ser- rapus.			cero himself. But he had some affected ges- tures, which were apt to render him ridicu- lous.	death upon the spot. John Hyrcanus suc- ceeds his father Simon, 135
Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.	618	136		
C. Calpurnius Piso.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, 2 ^o .	619	135	Lucilius (Caius) a Roman knight, born at Suessa in the coun- try of the Aurunci, died at Naples towards the year of Rome 651	His administration was long and happy. Yet Jerusalem having been besieged by An- tiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, John sub- mitted to a tribute, as well to deliver the city, as out of ac- knowledgment to An- tiochus, for his mo- deration in granting a seven days truce to the besieged in order to ce- lebrate the feast of ta- bernacles, and in send- ing at the same time rich offerings to the temple. This tribute did not continue long.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.				
P. Mucius Scaevola.	620	134		
L. Calpurn. Piso Frugi.				
P. Popilius Lænas.	621	133		
P. Rupilius Nepos.				
P. Licinius Crassus Muclanus.	622	132	This poet is consi- dered by a great many writers as the first au- thor of satyr, such as was afterwards written by Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. And in- deed they have all three justified them- selves by his example in following this kind of writing, which did not meet with general approbation. Horace himself has taken par- ticular care to make us believe, that he re- peated his satyrs only to a few friends, and ostentimes against his will, having always a regard to persons and circumstances ;	
L. Valerius Flaccus.				
C. Claudius Pulcher.	623	131		
Marcus Perpenna.				
C. Sempronius Tudi- tanus.	624	130		
M. Aquillius Nepos.				
Cn. Octavius Nepos.	625	129		
Titus Annius Luscus Rufus.				
Luscius Cassius Longi- nus.	626	128		
L. Cornelius Cinna.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	627	127		
L. Aurelius Orestes.				
M. Plautius Hypsæus.	628	126		
M. Fulvius Flaccus.				
C. Cassius Longinus.	629	125		
C. Sextius Calvinus.				
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.	630	124		
T. Quintius Flamini- nus.				
Cn. Domitius Æno- barbus.	631	123	Non recito cuiquam, nisi amicis, idque co- actus ;	John Hyrcanus, we may remark the taking of Garizzim, where he demolished the temple that had been built about two hundred years before, upon the same plan as that of Jerusalem ; his victo- ries over the Idumeans, whom he obliged to receive the ceremo- ny of circumcision and other observances of the law ; and last of all, the taking of Sa- maria and several other cities.
Q. Fannius Strabo.				
L. Optimus Nepos.	632	122	Non ul. . . is, coramue quibuslibet.	
Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus.				
P. Manilius Nepos.	633	121		
C. Papirius Carbo.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus, 2 ^o .	634	120		
L. Aurelius Cotta.				
M. Porcius Cato.	635	119		
Q. Marcus Rex.				
L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus, 3 ^o .	636	118		
Q. Mucius Scaevola.				
C. Licinius Geta.	637	117	Nam fuit hoc vitio- sus in bona sæpe du- centos,	
Q. Fa-			U 2	John

the most eminent citizens: they gave them without saying a word. Neither were they surprized, when the consuls required them to deliver up their military machines, their arms, and ammunition, and moreover to suffer their ships to be burnt in their harbour: to all this they most patiently submitted. But how great was their astonishment and despair, when the ambassadors that had been sent to the Roman camp, came back to tell them that they must abandon Carthage, consent to see it levelled with the ground, and transplant themselves to some other spot, at the distance of ten miles from the sea! Instantly the whole city resounded with cries and lamentations. The people, in their first fury, fell upon the ambassadors, dragged them through the streets, and pelted them with stones; it was reckoned a crime in them to be messengers of such dismal news: at length, when they recovered themselves, they all with one accord declared for war. The temples and palaces of Carthage, in an instant were turned into workhouses, where people were employed in constructing military machines, and all sorts of arms: for want of tow and flax to make cords for working the machines, the slaves at first, and next the women, even of the highest rank, cut off their hair: for want of iron to fabricate their arms, they melted down all sorts of metals, brass, gold, and silver: the men worked day and night, without interruption; and the women brought their victuals to them at stated hours. In a few days the Carthaginians repaired the loss of their arms and ammunition, and raised an army under the command of a person named Asdrubal, considerable enough to escort their provisions, and to harass the enemy.

The siege of Carthage.

The consuls, on the other hand, surprized to hear what had passed, came and invested Carthage: at first they attempted to take it by assault, but were repulsed, and obliged to besiege it in form. The obstinate resistance of the besieged, their vigorous and successful sallies, and their good fortune in burning part of the Roman fleet by the help of some old barks, which had been left them as useless, obliged one of the consuls to march off. His colleague Manlius staid behind to continue the siege; but the Carthaginians had like to have surprized his camp in the night, had not Scipio Æmilianus by his great conduct and vigilance preserved the Romans. The same officer distinguished himself more conspicuously by his intrepidity and valour: for at the head of only his own division, he made a stand against Asdrubal's whole army, which the consul imprudently attacked, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus, in the strong camp before Nepheris. By this step he covered the legions while they passed a river, where in all probability they would have lost a great number of men: he likewise repassed this river to deliver four manipuli, who had been invested by the Carthaginians, and he brought them back safe to their fellow citizens: in short, he acquired the confidence of the enemy by acting with great sincerity on every occasion, so that they would treat with none but him. After this campaign, Scipio Æmilianus was looked upon as the greatest man in the republic, even in Cato's opinion; which

Conduct of Scipio Æmilianus.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus.			<i>Ut magnum, versus dictabat, flans pede in uno.</i>	John Hyrcanus dies in 107
M. Æmilius Scaurus.	638	116	<i>Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.</i>	Aristobulus succeeds to his father John Hyrcanus, and takes the title of king. He puts his mother, with Antigonus and one of his brothers, to death, and keeps the rest in prison. He dies in a year's time, after conquering Iturea, and obliging the inhabitants to embrace the Jewish religion, before Christ 106
M. Cecilius Metellus.			<i>Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;</i>	
Man. Acilius Balbus.	639	115	<i>Scribendi resti; nam ut multam, nil morer.</i>	
C. Porcius Cato.			Lucilius was great uncle by the mother's side of Pompey the Great; we have only a few fragments of his works remaining.	
Caius Cecilius Metellus Caprarius.	640	114	<i>Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus) born at Rome of an ancient and illustrious family, towards the year of that city 658</i>	
Cn. Papirius Carbo.			Died towards the year 70	
M. Livius Drusus.	641	113	It was a bold undertaking, to draw up the whole Epicurean system in verse. Yet he has succeeded so, as to be very intelligible; and he has even found means to strew this stony ground with the finest flowers. His poem is extant in six books, intitled <i>de rerum natura</i> . He wrote it to divert a phrenzy, with which he used to be attacked by intervals; but at length he was overcome by it, and killed himself in one of his fits.	Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, marries Alexander Jannæus, a brother of that prince, and raises him to the throne. This Alexander was a cruel man, and a conqueror: he extends his dominions very considerably, put one of his brothers to death, and massacred at different times above fifty thousand Jews, against whom he had taken a dislike. He died the year before Christ 79
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.	642	112		Salome his widow, otherwise named Alexandria, gets herself declared queen, and leaves only the pontificate to Hyrcanus, her eldest son. She dies in 70
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.				Hyrcanus II. reigns till the year 67
Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia.	643	111		Aristobulus II. brother of Hyrcanus, usurps the government.
M. Minucius Rufus.				Hyrcanus is restored by Pompey, who makes himself master of Jerusalem, and renders the
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.	644	110		
Q. Cecilius Metellus Numidicus.				
M. Junius Silanus.	645	109		
Serv. Sulpicius Galba.				
M. Aurelius Scaurus.	646	108		
L. Cassius Longinus.				
Caius Marius.	647	107		
C. Attilius Seranus.				
Q. Servilius Cæpio.	648	106		
P. Rutilius Rufus.				
Cn. Mallius.	649	105		
C. Flavius Fimbria.				
Caius Marius, 2 ^o .	650	104		
Lucius Aurelius Orestes, 2 ^o .				
Caius Marius, 3 ^o .	651	103		
Quint. Lutatius Catulus.				
Caius Marius, 4 ^o .	652	102		
Manius Aquilius Nepos.				
Caius Marius, 5 ^o .	653	101		
L. Valerius Flaccus.				
Caius Marius, 6 ^o .	654	100		
M. Antonius Nepos.				
A. Posthumus Albinus.	655	99		
Q. Cecilius Metellus Nepos.				
T. Didius Nepos.	656	98		
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.				
P. Li-			U 3	There

Death of
Cato the
censor.

which is saying a great deal; because it was not his custom to commend any man. This rigid censor died towards the latter end of the present year, at the age of eighty four or eighty five, after having foretold that Carthage would never be reduced, till Scipio Æmilianus was employed in that expedition.

The Ro-
mans un-
successful in
Spain.

In Spain, Viriathus, of whom mention has been made already, cut out a good deal of work for the Romans. He was an active enterprising man, had been originally a shepherd, then successively a huntsman, a chief of freebooters, and general of an army. As his forces were much inferior to those of the prætor C. Vetilius, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his infantry to draw up in a single line, as if he intended to give battle; and to retire suddenly, when the Romans came on to attack them. After this, he put himself at the head of a thousand horse, and kept skirmishing with the enemy two whole days, till at length he escaped through defiles unknown to the Romans, when he thought his infantry safe at Tribola, the place of rendezvous. The prætor pursuing him lost four thousand men, and was killed himself, in a forest where Viriathus had laid an ambuscade. The quaestor immediately took upon him the command of the army, and sent for five thousand auxiliary troops, but they were all cut in pieces by the rebels.

Rebellion in
Macedonia.

In the mean time strange scenes were acting in Macedonia. One Andriscus, of the very dregs of the people, who took upon him the name of Philip, stirred up a rebellion in this new republic, already tired of the Roman yoke. From thence he removed to Thrace, where he met with a very good reception; and being supplied with troops by the petty sovereigns of that country, he soon made himself master of all Macedonia, which acknowledged him for its sovereign. This large and potent kingdom, the patrimony of Alexander the Great, would not satisfy the ambition of the new king; he therefore entered Thessaly, and made almost an intire conquest of that province.

Scipio Na-
sica sent into
Greece.

Thus were things situated when Scipio Nasica was sent into Greece, and found the evil much greater than was imagined at Rome. Assisted by the allies of the republic, he drove Andriscus out of Thessaly, and waited for the arrival of the prætor Juventius Thalna, who was coming from Rome with an army. This prætor having too great a contempt for an enemy, grown formidable by his successes, engaged him imprudently, but was defeated and slain.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

The Pseudo-Philippus, or sham Philip, shewed himself in his natural colours after his victory. This impostor was in a supreme degree possessed of every vice, the natural consequence of a mean education: as soon as he saw himself settled on the throne, he gave a full loose to his inordinate desires, and avenged the cause of Rome on the faithless Macedonians, who were now harrassed in a terrible manner with extortions, assassinations, and proscriptions.

605.

The consul Calpurnius Piso is sent into Africa, in the room of Manlius,

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
P. Licinius Crassus. Cn. Domitius AEnobarbus.	657	97	There are still extant two very good poems of his intitled <i>Tberiaca</i> and <i>Alexipbarmaca</i> , which have been translated into Latin verse by John Corré, a Paris physician.	the Jews tributary to the Romans, 64 Great disturbances in Judæa the following years.
C. Cassius Longinus. L. Licinius Crassus.	658	96		<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Ptolemy Philometor, 146
Q. Mutius Scævola. Q. Domitius AEnobarbus.	659	95	<i>Pacuvius (Marcus)</i> born at Brundisium, died at Tarentum, almost in his ninetieth year, the year of Rome 690	Ptolemy Evergetes, or Phylcon, 116 Ptolemy Soter, or Lathurus, is expelled the year before Christ 106
C. Cælius Caldus. Caius Valerius Flaccus. Marcus Herennius Nepos.	660	94		Ptolemy Alexander, brother of the foregoing, reigned till the year 88
C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perpenna.	661	93	This poet applied himself to tragedy, and had great success in that kind of composition; he likewise cultivated the art of painting. We have some fragments of his works remaining, and his epitaph written by himself.	Ptolemy Lathurus restored till the year 80 Berenice, named also Cleopatra, reigns alone six or seven months.
L. Marcius Philippus. Sextus Julius Cæsar.	662	92		With Alexander till the year 75 Ptolemy Dionysius, or Auletes, till the year 58 Berenice during Auletes's exile.
P. Rutilius Lupus. L. Julius Cæsar.	663	91	<i>Polybius</i> , a celebrated Greek historian, born at Megalopolis, in the hundred and forty third olympiad, died at the age of fourscore and two, and the year of Rome 610	<i>Kings of Syria.</i> Demetrius Soter, 151 Alexander Balas, 146 Demetrius II. surnamed Nicanor, reigns till the year 145
C. Pompeius Strabo. P. Porcius Cato.	664	90		Antiochus son of Balas, 143 Diodotus Tryphon, 139 Antiochus Sidetes, 131 Demetrius Nicanor, restored till 129 Alexander Zebina, till 127 Seleucus V. 126
L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.	665	89	His history treated of all the most remarkable events, from the beginning of the Punic wars, to the end of that of Macedonia, and was written at Rome in Greek. It contained forty books, of which we have only the five first intire. We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	Antiochus Gryphus, 114 Antiochus IX. 97 Seleucus VI. 95
Q. Pompeius Rufus. Cneus Octavius.	666	88		An-
L. Cornelius Cinna. Caius Marius. 7 ^o .	667	87	<i>Scævola (Quintus Mucius)</i> killed at Rome the year of that city 666	
L. Cornelius Cinna. 2 ^o . <i>In the room of Marius is substituted</i> Lucius Valerius Flaccus.				
L. Cornelius Cinna. 3 ^o .	668	86	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
Cn. Papirius Carbo.				
L. Cornelius Cinna. 4 ^o .	669	85	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
Cneus Papirius Carbo. 2 ^o .				
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.	670	84	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
C. Junius Norbanus.				
Cneus Papirius Carbo. 3 ^o .	671	83	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
C. Marius.				
M. Tullius Decula.	672	82	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
Cneus Cornelius Dolabella.				
L. Cornelius Sylla Felix. 2 ^o .	673	81	We are obliged to Pope Nicholas V. for the publication of his works.	
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.				
Pub.			U 4 Cicero	

The siege of Carthage continued.

He carries on the siege but slowly ; during which time the Carthaginians obtain several advantages over the Romans, which revive their courage. Scipio Æmilianus was likewise the only person that distinguished himself this campaign. Phameas, general of the enemy's horse, was so greatly afraid of him, that he durst not appear when it was Scipio's turn to go upon an expedition : at the same time he conceived so great a value for this young officer, that he desired a conference with him, and at length deserted with two thousand African horse, who were of great assistance to the Romans. Scipio likewise received a signal proof of the high regard which Masinissa had for him and his family. This old prince, upon his death bed, begged he would come and settle the partition of his dominions among his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manassabal.

Affairs in Spain.

In Spain, C. Plautius, who had succeeded Vetilius, and brought with him a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, lost four thousand men in the first action, where Viriathus had laid an ambush for him ; and he was afterwards intirely defeated in a pitched battle. Viriathus makes himself master of Segobriga, a city in alliance with the Romans.

The rebellion quelled in Macedonia.

In Macedonia, Andriscus being defeated and taken by Q. Cæcilius Metellus, successor of Juventius, is sent to Rome loaded with chains. Metellus disperses a party that had declared for another impostor, who, in imitation of the sham Philip, wanted to pass for the son of Perseus, and had taken the name of Alexander.

Scipio Æmilianus is chosen consul for the following year. He only stood candidate for the ædileship, his age not permitting him to aspire to any other curule office, for he was but thirty seven ; however Rome, as we have already observed, knew very well how to make exception on proper occasions in favour of great men.

606.

Scipio Æmilianus has the conduct of the war in Africa.

Like his adoptive grandfather, he had the honour of being intrusted with the conduct of the war in Africa, without being obliged to draw lots with his colleague : and in imitation of that hero, he was attended in his expeditions by his intimate friend Lælius, son of that other Lælius, who had heretofore behaved so gallantly under the great Scipio. He likewise took along with him Polybius the Achaean, who had acquired a considerable share of his confidence, and whose counsels he greatly valued. Lælius and Polybius were also excellent scholars, as well as soldiers : the former is supposed to have had a considerable share, with Scipio, in writing those excellent comedies, which are still extant, under the name of Terence ; and the other has immortalized his name by his Roman history.

The siege of Carthage continued.

Scipio found the siege of Carthage in less forwardness than at the first campaign. The inhabitants of that capital had taken advantage of the consul Piso's negligence, to provide themselves with all manner of necessaries, and to put the city into a better posture of defence. The first care of the new consul being to shut up all the avenues to the town,

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus.	674	80	Cicero says of him, that he was chief orator among the civilians, and chief civilian among the orators. In the Digest we have upwards of forty laws of Scævola's drawing, which justify the elogium that Cicero has bestowed upon him as a civilian. None of his orations are come down to us, but we may depend on Cicero's judgment of him. Scævola also composed one book of definitions, and sixteen on the civil law. He was consul in the year 658, and afterwards proconsul in Asia, where he governed with so much prudence, that he was always mentioned at Rome as a pattern to his successors, and the Asiatics instituted the <i>Mucian feasts</i> in honour to him. He was assassinated by order of Marius, though he could be reproached with no other crime, than that of being too honest a man for the times; this was the justice done him by Fimbria, who stabbed him in the temple of Vesta. He had been pontifex maximus in 664.	Antiochus X. 94 Antiochus XI. 93 Tigranes takes possession of the kingdom till the year before Christ 65 Syria is reduced to a Roman province. Athens is taken by Sylla, the year before Christ 87 <i>Kings of Pontus.</i> Mithridates V. 123 Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupater, died in 64 The kingdom of Pontus had been reduced to a Roman province, the preceding year. <i>Kings of Bithynia.</i> Prusias II. 149 Nicomedes II. 92 Nicomedes III. by his will bequeaths the kingdom of Bithynia to the Romans, 75 <i>Kings of Pergamus.</i> Attalus Philadelphus, 138 Attalus Philometor gives his dominions to the Romans. This kingdom is reduced to a Roman province, 130 <i>Kings of the Parthians.</i> Mithridates I. 136 Phraohates II. 127 Artabanus II. 124 Mithridates II. 87 Mnaskines, 76 Sinactrockes, 69 Phraohates III. 60 Mithridates III.
Appius Claudius Pulcher.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	675	79		
Q. Lutatius Catulus.				
Decimus Junius Brutus.	676	78		
Mamercus Æmilius Livianus.				
Cneus Octavius Nepos.	677	77		
C. Scribonius Curio.				
L. Octavius.	678	76		
Caius Aurelius Cotta.				
Lucius Licinius Lucullus.	679	75		
M. Aurelius Cotta.				
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.	680	74		
C. Cassius Varus.				
L. Gellius Poplicola.	681	73		
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.				
Cneus Aufidius Orestes.	682	72		
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.				
Cneus Pompeius Magnus.	683	71		
M. Licinius Crassus Dives.				
Q. Hortensius.	684	70		
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.				
Quint. Marcius Rex.	685	69		
L. Cæcilius Metellus.				
C. Calpurnius Piso.	686	68		
M. Acilius Glabrio.				
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	687	67		
L. Volcatius Tullus.				
L. Aurelius Cotta.	688	66		
Lucius Manlius Torquatus.				
Lucius Julius Cæsar.	689	65		
C. Marcius Figulus.				
M. Tullius Cicero.	690	64		
C. Antonius Nepos.				
Decius Junius Sillanus.	691	63		
L. Licinius Murena.				
M. Poppius Piso.	692	62		
M. Valerius Messala Niger.				
L. A-			owed	

town, he encamped on a neck of land, which joined the isthmus, whereon Carthage stood, to the continent. By this step he effectually prevented the besieged from receiving provisions that way; but still the sea was open, because the Roman vessels durst not come within reach of the military machines, for fear of being sunk. Scipio also deprived them of this last resource, by raising a mole in the sea, eighty feet broad at the top, and ninety two at the bottom; a work of immense labour. Yet the Carthaginians attempted, and executed another that was more surprizing. Their city contained seven hundred thousand inhabitants, who all fell to work as hard as they could, men, women, and children, to dig a new port, and to fit out a fleet. The Romans were surprized upon seeing a new squadron of fifty quinqueres appear at sea, ready to give battle, and to convoy their provisions. It is thought, that the Carthaginians committed a great mistake in not attacking the Roman ships upon this first surprize; for they did not engage till three days after, and then the advantage was not on their side. The consul having made himself master of a terrace that commanded the city towards the sea, took care to fortify it, and four thousand soldiers were quartered there all the winter.

Scipio being sensible that it was not proper to be idle during the cold season, attacks the Carthaginian camp near Nepheris, and forces the intrenchments. This camp was like a second Carthage, whither all the inhabitants of the open country, who could not find room in the capital, had retired with their effects: upwards of sixty thousand men were killed, and ten thousand made prisoners. Soon after this, the town of Nepheris was taken, where Asdrubal no longer had the command. This man, by intrigues and villany, had made himself governor, or rather tyrant of Carthage. He exercised an absolute sway over his expiring country; every action, every word, every gesture that did not please him, was punished with death: and as if he intended to insult the misery of the inhabitants, thousands of whom were perishing with famine, he feasted every day in a most sumptuous manner. Interview between him and Gulussa, one of the kings of Numidia, who had carried succours to Scipio against Carthage; but Asdrubal's intolerable pride was the cause that nothing could be concluded.

607.

Scipio had consented to this interview for no other reason, than through fear, lest one of the new consuls should deprive him of the glory of taking Carthage. The Romans did him more justice; it was agreed in the comitia, that he should continue general of the army in Africa, till the conclusion of the war.

Lælius makes himself master of a small island, called *Cotbo*, which commanded the entrance of the gulf where Carthage stood. Scipio much about the same time breaks down one of the city gates, and penetrates

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
L. Afranius Nepos. Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer.	693	61	<p>owed him for the great number of excellent laws. Remarkable among others, are those relating to forgers, assassins, and poisoners; to injuries, proscriptions, and luxury; to wills, magistrates, tribunes, and judgments.</p> <p>From this multitude of laws, made by Sulla, M. Terasson takes occasion to rank him among the number of civilians.</p>
C. Julius Cæsar. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.	694	60	
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.	695	59	
A. Gabinius Nepos. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.	696	58	
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos. C. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.	697	57	
L. Marcius Philippus. Cneus Pompeius Magnus, 2 ^o .	698	56	
Marcus Licinius Crassus, 2 ^o .			
L. Domitius Ænobarbus. Appius Claudius Pulcher.	699	55	
Cneus Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.	700	54	

Carthage
taken,

penetrates through the streets as far as the citadel. The inhabitants, who had retired thither, had the courage to stand a siege of a few days. At length they surrendered: the women came first, and implored the mercy of the conqueror, asking no favour but life, which they obtained: the men next ventured to take the same step, and met with the same success. None but the Roman deserters being excluded from mercy, they withdrew to the temple of Æsculapius, in the very highest part of the citadel, and setting it on fire, perished in the flames, together with Asdrubal's wife and children. This vain man had boasted that he would never survive the ruin of his country; but when he beheld present danger, he thought it was enough for his family to perform the promise. In this cowardly disposition he stole away from Carthage, and threw himself at Scipio's feet, who granted him his life: but his wife remained in the hands of the deserters. This intrepid woman seeing her country just at its last gasp, appeared on the steps of the temple, where she stabbed her children in the presence of the Romans, and threw herself into the middle of the flames.

And utterly
destroyed.

Scipio had Carthage now at his mercy; but his good nature and compassion obliged him to suspend destroying that city, till he received further orders from Rome. It has been always observed, that the greatest heroes have a most tender feeling for the miseries of human nature; and of this we have a very strong proof on the present occasion. Polybius perceived that Scipio shed tears over the ruins of Carthage; and it was the fate of this same Polybius soon after to weep over the ruins of his own country.

The war
with the
Achæans.

Battle of
Scarphia.

Battle of
Corinth.

The Roman power now spread itself like a torrent, and overbore every thing that opposed it. The Achæans being provoked with the republic for having detained in a kind of slavery some Achæan lords, whose cause she had reserved to herself, made some motions which plainly indicated they were meditating revenge. Immediately the prætor Metellus, who still commanded in Macedon, crosses Thessaly, and enters Peloponnesus. Battle of *Scarphia* (*b*), where Critolaus, general of the Achæans, is defeated and slain. Metellus seizes on Thebes in Arcadia, penetrates into Achaia, and makes himself master of Megara. He would have marched on directly to Corinth, the capital of the province, only that he wanted to settle matters before the arrival of Mummius, who was coming with a consular army to put an end to the war. He therefore sends deputies to treat of peace with Diaus, successor of Critolaus; but the proposals are rejected. The consul Mummius appears before Corinth; Diaus gives him battle, and is routed. The Corinthians had been very sanguine in their expectations of a victory: but so great was their consternation after their defeat, that they instantly deserted their city. Mummius apprehending an ambuscade, would not enter till three days after; and then all the men able to bear arms

(*b*) A town of Locris in Achaia, now called *Bandoniza*.

were put to the sword, the women and children were sold for slaves, and the town was plundered and burnt. It is said, that on this occasion, there was a vast mixture of melted metals, which ran down the streets in streams. Of all the cities in Greece, Corinth abounded the most in excellent artists, who worked with great taste in gold, silver, and brass: they had carefully concealed these precious metals; but the fire reached them; and of their mixture was formed an admirable composition, well known by the name of Corinthian brass, which no art could ever imitate. Yet there are celebrated writers who look upon this anecdote as apocryphal. Though the Romans even at this early period expressed a fondness for the productions of eminent artists, it does not appear that they had any connoisseurs, or men of taste among them: at least the consul Mummius was no such person. For he had made it a condition with the master of a vessel, who was to carry the statues, vases, and pictures of Corinth to Rome, that if any of them were lost, he would oblige him to find others of equal value.

Corinth
destroyed.

Corinthian
brass.

Rome had never beheld such a number of triumphs. Scipio triumphed over Carthage, Metellus over Macedon, and Mummius over Achaia. Nobody disputed with Scipio the title of *Africanus*, nor with Mummius that of *Achaicus*, which they took on this occasion, and retained ever after: but some found fault that Metellus should assume the surname of Macedonicus, which the manes of the great Paulus Æmilius seemed to claim. The Carthaginian state, as also Macedonia and Achaia, were treated as conquered countries, and reduced to Roman provinces. The lands of those who had assisted the Carthaginians, were given away in property to the allies; the inhabitants of Utica in particular were gratified with the whole territory between Carthage and Hippo. The Achæans met with greater lenity, out of regard to Polybius, who had many powerful friends in Rome, so that only a small tribute (*i*) was imposed on this nation, and the statues of their great men were restored. As an acknowledgment for so important a service, they erected a statue to Polybius.

At the census made this year by the consuls Cornelius Lupus and Marcius Censorius, there appeared to be three hundred and twenty two thousand citizens able to bear arms.

(i) The Romans used to lay different sorts of tributes on the conquered provinces. The *stipendium* was either a set sum of money to be collected by the provincial *quaestor*, which they called *pecunia ordinaria*; or a subsidy raised for particular occasions, and termed *pecunia extraordinaria*. The *portorium* was a duty upon importation and exportation. The *scriptura* was a tax upon pastures and cattle. The *decuma* was the quantity of corn, which the farmers were obliged to pay to the Roman state, commonly the tenth part of their crop. This was called *frumentum decumanum*, and the publicans who farmed it, had the name of *decumani*. Some provinces that deserved well of the Romans, were excused from paying tribute; whence the inhabitants were termed *immune*, in opposition to the *vestigales*.

608.

The Romans unsuccessful in Spain.

The republic turns her whole attention to the Spanish war, which began to grow more serious every day. While the Romans were triumphing in Africa and Greece, Viriathus was humbling them in Spain. Claudius Unimanus and Caius Nigidius, who the two preceding years had led the prætorian armies into Lusitania, were successively defeated by that formidable rebel. The senate therefore thought proper to send a consular army against him, under the command of Fabius Æmilianus, son of Paulus Æmilius, and eldest brother of the second Africanus. From this general they expected mighty matters, and perhaps he achieved a great deal by not acting; that is, by keeping upon his guard, to prevent being surprized by the enemy. Fabius had only new levies with him, which it would have been dangerous for him to expose in the field against an army of veterans, flushed with a train of victories for six years together: he therefore contented himself with inuring them to fatigue and discipline, that they might be the better able to act on a proper occasion.

609.

Viriathus defeated by Fabius Æmilianus.

The two new consuls were equally ambitious of having the conduct of the war in Spain; but a word from Scipio Africanus disappointed them both: *I think*, said he, *that they ought to be both excluded, because one has nothing at all; and the other has never enough.* Cotta was very poor; and Galba, though extremely rich, was excessively avaricious. Scipio judged that one would be influenced to protract the war by his necessities; the other by his avarice: and the senate stuck to his decision. The command is continued to Fabius Æmilianus, with the title of proconsul. He defeats Viriathus in two general actions, and takes two towns from the rebels.

To this, or at the latest to the next year, we must refer a very considerable change, in regard to the office of prætors. Hitherto it had been the custom for two of them to remain at Rome for the hearing of causes; but this number was no longer sufficient, since the republic had so considerably enlarged her dominions. It was therefore regulated, that henceforward all the prætors should reside in Rome during the year of their magistracy, in order to administer justice, as well civil as criminal, and at the expiration of that term, they should set out for their provinces in the quality of pro-prætors.

610.

War with the Numantines.

This year properly beginneth the famous Numantine war, so troublesome to the Romans. Viriathus, weakened by the defeats he had sustained the preceding year, endeavours to get the assistance of the Celtiberians, who had been very quiet since the peace concluded with Marcellus. He therefore sends deputies to the *Titbi*, the *Balitani*, the *Arevace*, whose capital was Numantia, and to all the other people of Celtiberia, who once more set up the standard of revolt. The consul Metellus marches against them, and obtains some considerable advantages.

sages. In Lusitania, the prætor Quintius gains a victory over Viriathus, but is soon after defeated by the Lusitanians in his turn.

Metellus's colleague was Appius Claudius Pulcher. The very name of this consul is capable of giving us an idea of his character, when we recollect that the whole Claudian family were proud, enterprizing, and obstinate. The present Claudius commanded an army in Cisalpine Gaul, which had been long barren of lawrels, but he contrived to gather some. The *Salassi* (k), who inhabited the country now called the *Val d'Aoste*, had a quarrel with their neighbours; and Appius was commissioned to compromise the matter: he enters the country with an army; the *Salassi* put themselves in a posture of defence; a battle is fought, and Appius is defeated. He fights a second, in which he proves victorious: having killed five thousand of the enemy, he pretends that this is the present rule for obtaining a triumph, and therefore demands it upon his return; but his petition is rejected. Appius triumphed nevertheless, in spite of the senate and people, not on mount Alba, as had happened to some generals, but in the middle of Rome. It is true, a zealous tribune attempted to pull him down from his chariot, as he was mounting the capitol; and the consul must have complied, if his daughter, a vestal, had not opposed the tribune; so that here was a contest between two sacred persons. The tribune gave way at length, thinking it his duty to respect the sex and profession of Claudia.

The *Salassi* defeat the Romans. But are defeated in a second battle.

611.

Metellus being made proconsul, continues the war in *Hither Spain* with such success, that there remained only *Thermantia* and *Numantia* for him to reduce. We are unacquainted with the particulars of these expeditions; this we know only, that Metellus was very resolute in maintaining strict discipline among his troops, extremely humane in his behaviour to the conquered nations, and above all things, an observer of secrecy in conducting his expeditions. A person happening, one day, to ask him his intention in regard to the operations of the campaign; *If I thought*, said he, *that my coat was privy to my design, I would burn it this instant*. With such noble qualities, a general very seldom miscarries. In *Farther Spain*, Viriathus behaved so like an able commander, that, though he was several times attacked by the consul Fabius Servilianus, the engagements ended with dubious success.

The army of a new impostor in Macedonia, who took the name of Philip, is defeated and dispersed by the quæstor Cn. Tremellius, in the absence of the prætor Licinius Nerva. We have already beheld a quæstor taking upon himself the command in the prætor's absence; here is another example of it; and this abundantly proves, that the office of quæstors in the armies was not confined to the administration of the revenue.

(k) The *Salassi* were a people of Piedmont, whose chief town was called *Augusta Salassorum*, now *Aoste*.

Scipio Africanus exercised the censorship along with Mummius Achaicus. Several stories are related of Scipio, which serve to convince us, that he was on the one hand a great restorer of discipline and morality among the Romans, and on the other, that he was no enemy to mirth and good humour. I shall give only the following instance. A certain Roman knight at the siege of Carthage had served up at his table, among other curious dishes, a pye exactly in the form of a town besieged; and holding the glass in his hand, with great jollity and mirth he delivered it up to his guests. This man coming to Scipio to know the reason why he had condemned him; it is, said Scipio smiling, *because you encroached upon my rights: did not you give Carthage up to be plundered, before I had ordered it?*

Laws against
luxury.

However, Scipio was not the only person that proceeded severely against the luxury of feasting; a considerable number of citizens were fined for breaking the *Didian* law enacted the preceding year, whereby the *Fannian* law was revived, and extended to all Italy. This luxury was a consequence of the exorbitant power of the Romans. Scipio was sensible of the inconveniency, and complained of it: for which reason he altered the form of prayer that used to be said at the closing of the *lustrum*, whereby the gods were beseeched to increase the power of the republic: he substituted another, by which they were only desired to preserve the republic in the same state, and this was repeated ever after (1).

At the census made by Scipio and his colleague, towards the end of their office, there appeared to be three hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and forty two citizens.

612.

State of
affairs in
Spain.

Metellus Macedonicus had flattered himself that the same favour would be extended to him, as had been shewn to Scipio, of being permitted to finish the war in Hither Spain, which he had so happily begun. But great was his vexation, when he came to hear that the consul *Q. Pompeius Nepos* was appointed to succeed him: instantly all his virtue vanished: not reflecting that he was going to stain his former glory, and to render himself most odious to his countrymen, he weakened his army as much as he could, by disbanding those who had a mind to serve no longer: he likewise exhausted the magazines, broke in pieces a great part of the arms, and let his elephants die for want of nourishment.

Pompeius Nepos was a man of no birth or merit, who had been raised to the consulate by a mean intrigue. One would think that the enemy had no occasion to fear such a general; yet as he had received considerable reinforcements, they made offers of peace. One single con-

(1) The luxury of the Romans increased afterwards to such a pitch, as is almost incredible. Pliny observes, that when Carthage was destroyed by Scipio Africanus, the whole treasure found in that city amounted to no more than what, in Pliny's time, was often laid out in the furniture of a table. Nat. Hist. l. 53. c. 11.

dicion prevented the treaty from taking effect; he insisted on their delivering up their arms. Pompey lays siege to Numantia, but is obliged to raise it; he then makes an attack on Termantia, before which place he also miscarries. In his expedition against the town of *Lantia* (m), he is more successful; for taking the advantage of a fray that arose between the inhabitants, and the Numantines who came to their assistance, he scales the walls, makes himself master of the place, and puts the garrison to the sword.

In Farther Spain, the proconsul Fabius Servilianus takes several places from Viriathus. This brave Spaniard having intelligence, that the city of Erisana was very hard pressed by the Romans, gets into it by night, makes a vigorous sally, and drives them to a post, where they were hemmed in of all sides, so that there was no possibility for them to escape. In these circumstances he proposes a peace, and the Romans accept of it; *it was agreed, there should be peace and friendship between the Romans and Viriathus, and that both sides should keep what they actually possessed.* Thus a shepherd and a captain of freebooters treats upon a par with the conquerors of the world.

613.

This peace was soon broke by the base artifices of the Consul Q. Cæpio, to whose lot the command of *Farther Spain* devolved, in preference to his colleague Lælius, justly called the *Wise*. Viriathus was not taken unprovided, for he had too much policy to lay down his arms, before the peace was established on a lasting foundation. He therefore flies to his camp, but finding his army too weak to fight the Romans, who offered him battle, he gets off by a stratagem almost similar to that which he had used in the beginning of the war, and entrenches himself amongst inaccessible rocks. The consul being confounded, prevails, by force of money, with three pretended friends of this brave Spaniard, to murder him while he was asleep in his tent. The Lusitanians lost every thing by losing Viriathus: the person appointed to succeed him, rashly undertook to lay siege to Saguntum; but being surprized upon his march by the Roman army, greatly superior to his own, he was obliged to surrender at discretion; and thus Lusitania was intirely pacified. Is it a sufficient justification of the Romans, that they refused a triumph to Cæpio, notwithstanding the great advantages they had reaped from his expedition? There was a time when the republic would have punished so perfidious a behaviour with the utmost severity.

On the other hand, Pompeius Nepos, proconsul in *Hiher Spain*, concluded a kind of peace with the Numantines: having greatly disgraced the Roman arms during the present campaign, he was apprehensive of being impeached before the people at his return; therefore, in order to convince the public that he had obliged the enemy

(m) Florus calls it *validissima civitas*.

to sue for peace, he persuaded the Numantines that he would grant them very advantageous terms, provided they would make the first overtures: accordingly he did grant those terms, but with a firm resolution of breaking them, as soon as ever he judged it convenient for his interest.

At Rome a senator, named T. Manlius Torquatus, banishes his son D. Silanus Manlianus, convicted of practising the most horrid extortions in Macedonia, where he had been prætor the last year: this shews that domestic trials were not yet intirely abolished. Silanus strangled himself through despair.

The Mem-
mian law.

The Memmian law (k) against informers, which forbade the accusing of any person who was absent in the public service, and decreed that every informer convicted of calumny should be marked in the forehead with the letter K, which, according to the orthography of that time, was the first letter of the word *Kalumniator*.

Tragedies
acted.

P. Licinius Crassus, being entrusted as ædile with the direction of the public games, entertained the people with the representation of the tragedies of Pacuvius, who still continued to write with applause at the age of fourscore. Attius, another tragic poet, began to acquire great reputation.

614.

A company of Chaldeans, who set up for astrologers and soothsayers, are expelled from Rome. Prohibition of a new worship of Jupiter *Sabazius* (l), introduced by the Asiatics; this infamous and superstitious worship was afterwards revived under the Roman emperors.

The Gabi-
nian law.

The Gabinian law for the establishing of suffrages by tablets in the electing of magistrates; which before that time used to be given *viva voce*: it is true, this restrained the freedom of elections, but, on the

(k) Valerius Maximus, lib. iii. 7. 9. calls it *legem Memmiam*, and the same reading is preserved in most of the editions of Cicero's oration pro S. Roscio; yet in the manuscript copies we always find it *Remmia*, and that is the name it bears L. 13. D. de testib. l. 1. §. 2. D. ad S. C. Turpil. So that what Pighius says in his Annals, viz. that this law was made by C. Memmius Gallus, tribune of the people, is very uncertain. The Remmian family was well known at Rome; for Aufelius Victor de Vir. illustr. LXXI. makes mention of Remmius the ædile; and Tacitus' Annal. 2. 68. takes notice of another Remmius.

(l) The word *Sabazius* was a name given to Jupiter, and seems to have been of the same import with that of *Ægærbus*; because as the latter comes from the Greek word *αἴξ*, which signifies a *goat*, the former comes from the Phœnician word *Tsebaoth*, which signifies a *roe-buck*. There was a festival in honour of Jupiter, called *Sabazia*, concerning which, see Meursius's *Græcia Feriata*. There was also a festival of the same name instituted in honour of Dionysius or Bacchus, who was said to be the son of *Caprius*, to signify that he was the son of this Jupiter called *Sabazius*. Cicero takes notice of this Festival, lib. 3. de nat. Deorum: *tertium (Dionysium) Caprio patre (natum) cuiusque regem Asiæ præfuisse dicunt: cui Sabazia sunt instituta*. He likewise makes mention of the Deus Sabazius, lib. 2. de Leg. *nocturnas per vigiliatones sic Aristophanes, sœcētissimus poeta veteris comediæ, vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius, et quidam alii dii peregrini iudicati, è civitate ejiciantur*.

other

other hand, it behoved them the more to make a proper choice. Be that as it may, the manner of voting by tablets was successively introduced into the courts of justice by the *lex Cassia*, in the enacting of laws by the *lex Carbonia*, and even in judicial proceedings before the people, in cases of high treason, by the *lex Cælia*: the latter had been excepted by the Cassian law, doubtless because it was conceived, that no fear would ever restrain the citizens from giving their opinions freely and openly against crimes of so odious a nature. The several laws we have been mentioning, were so called from the names of the different tribunes, at whose motion they were made.

War is declared anew against the Numantines, under pretence that there had been no peace concluded with them: doubtless this treaty was made only *viva voce*, since Pompeius Nepos finding it disagreeable to the republic, got rid of the affair, by denying the fact in presence of the deputies of Numantia. In this dispute a good part of the year was consumed, so that the consul Popilius, who had the command of the Roman army in *Hither Spain*, could undertake nothing.

615.

Disturbances at Rome, occasioned by a new attempt of the tribunes of the people, who would fain have a privilege of exempting ten citizens, that is, each of them one, from military service. They cause the consuls Scipio Nasica and J. Brutus to be imprisoned, for opposing their pretensions. Nothing could withstand the power of the tribunes, when they were all of one mind. The insult here offered to two consuls, more respectable for their personal accomplishments, than for their dignity, was only a prelude to the shocking scenes which the tribunes were now hatching.

The consul Brutus founds a colony towards the mouth of the river Turia (n), in *Farther Spain*, whither he transplants the Lusitanians, who had surrendered to the consul Cæpio: this is the city of Valentia, which became afterwards the capital of a kingdom of the same name. Though *Farther Spain* had been intirely subdued, still it was become necessary to quell a particular set of people, who during the war had been accustomed to live upon plunder. The enterprize was arduous: Brutus had not only to fight against brave warlike men, but moreover against women as resolute as their husbands, women who seemed to take a pleasure in exposing themselves to the severest hardships, and even to death, in the defence of their country. He spent several years in finishing this war, and had the surname of *Callaicus*, from the principal nation (o) that he subdued.

The præconsul Popilius is defeated before Numantia, which city he intended to besiege.

(n) It is also written *Duria*; the modern name is *Durro*.

(o) The *Callaici* inhabited that part of Portugal, which is now called *Entre-Minbo-Douro*, and part of Galicia in Spain.

The Numantines defeat the Romans.

Mancinus signs a treaty with the Numantines.

The consul Mancinus was still more unfortunate; the terror with which such a number of defeats had struck the Romans, was so great, that they trembled at the very sight of a Numantine. Mancinus despairing to effect any thing with troops so disheartened, moves off from Numantia in the night. The enemy hearing of his retreat, fall upon his army, cut numbers of them in pieces, and surround the rest among rocks and impervious defiles. As soon as day appeared, the Romans perceived the sad situation they were reduced to. The consul offers to conclude a peace with the enemy, and they accept of it under the mediation of the quæstor Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. This officer was agreeable to them, not only on account of his own personal reputation, but out of regard to the memory of his father, who had been formerly victorious in this same country, and had granted a peace to the Numantines, which he suffered them quietly to enjoy. They now had only the precaution to insist that the consul, the quæstor, and the other principal officers of the army, should bind themselves by a solemn oath to observe the treaty. The senate hearing of what had passed, recall Mancinus, and send in his room Æmilius the other consul, who expecting to reap more laurels than his colleague, falls upon the Vaccæi, and lays siege to Pallantia; but he is obliged to decamp, after losing a great number of men before the town, for want of provisions. The enemy attack him in his retreat, and kill six thousand legionaries.

The Romans break the treaty.

The Romans were not inclined to observe the treaty signed by Mancinus, and ratified by the solemnity of an oath: they remembered that in a parallel case, the consuls T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius had been delivered up to the Samnites. The senate therefore made a decree, importing that the treaty concluded by Mancinus should be considered as null and void, for not having had the approbation of the republic; and that this general, together with those officers who had joined with him in signing it, should be delivered up to the enemy by the consul Furius, attended by a *secialis*. Mancinus himself harangued the assembly of the people, to make them approve of the decree. On the contrary, Gracchus distinguishing his own from the consul's cause, prevailed on them to determine that Mancinus should be delivered up alone: Gracchus was master of a soft persuasive eloquence, and we shall presently see him exerting it against the senate, to revenge the injustice he had received from that body.

The Numantines having refused to accept of Mancinus, he returns to Rome, and is reinstated in his rights as a citizen, contrary to the opinion of the tribune P. Rutilius, who pretended that he could not enjoy the right of returning to his country, called by the Romans *jus postliminii* (n). The people judged that Mancinus's *dedition*, or surrender,

(n) *Postliminium* signifies the return of a person, who had sojourned elsewhere, or had

surrender, was not completed, since it had not been accepted by the enemy.

Historians do not inform us what was done by the consul *Furius* in his province of *Hither Spain*; they only observe to his praise, that he was not afraid to take *Q. Metellus* and *Q. Pompeius* for his lieutenants, though they had been his declared enemies.

618.

His successor *Piso* remained intirely inactive: both the officers and soldiers were seized with a panic ever since the melancholy adventure of *Mancinus*; and the affairs of the republic were much the same way in Spain as they had been in Africa, when *Scipio Æmilianus* was appointed to destroy Carthage. And now he was named, with the same confidence, to the demolition of *Numantia*. Cicero observes, that this great captain, whose fortune it was to destroy two cities that might be considered as the greatest enemies of Rome, was twice raised to the consulship without courting that dignity. And indeed he appeared this year in the comitia, with no other view than to offer his son-in-law, *Fabius Buteo*, as a candidate for the quaestorship. At that time *Scipio* was returned from the East, where he had been sent as ambassador, to watch the conduct and behaviour of the republics and kings, either subject or allied to Rome: in this embassy he was attended by *Panætius* the philosopher, for whom he had a sincere friendship. The consul *Fulvius Flaccus* obtains a triumph at Rome over the *Vardæi*, a people of *Illyricum*, who had revolted. *Illyricum* is reduced to a Roman province.

Scipio Africanus is sent against the Numantines

619.

Scipio was ordered without drawing lots to carry on the war in Spain: he had been chosen for no other reason than to match him against the *Numantines*, who were grown so formidable by the relaxation of discipline in the Roman army. *Scipio* knew it very well; so that as soon as he came to his province, he drove away a vast multi-

had been taken by the enemy, to his own country and estate again: as likewise a law whereby one recovereth again that which was lost. This word, according to *Gellius*, was derived from *post* and *limen*, as if it were *ad id limen post reditio*: where *limen* does not signify the bounds of the empire, as *Tribonianus* pretends, §. *Inst.* as well as *Mensagius*, *Amen. Jur. Civ. c. 39.* but the street door: because it was the custom among the Romans, for those that were falsely reported to be dead in foreign countries, to be received upon their return, not through the door, but by taking them up to the roof of the house, and letting them in that way. The origin of which custom is thus given by *Varro*. In the Sicilian war there happened to be a false report that several were killed in a naval engagement, who afterwards returned home, and died in a short time. But one of them going to enter his house, the doors shut against him of themselves, and could not be opened by any that attempted it. This man falling asleep before the door, saw an apparition in his sleep, advising him to let himself down from the roof into the house; accordingly he followed the advice, and lived to a happy old age, from whence the custom was confirmed. It is true, *Plutarch*, who gives this account from *Varro*, looks upon it as fabulous. *Plut. quæst. Rom. 5.*

tude of brokers, sutlers, and prostitutes, that followed the camp, and encouraged the luxury and incontinence of the troops. He reckoned that none could be called soldiers but disciplined men; in pursuance of which principle he spent the best part of the campaign in inuring his troops to military toil. His expeditions were confined to sending out detachments to ravage the country round Numantia; till at length the Romans began to look at that city without trembling. Scipio resolved to attack the place as soon as he received a reinforcement of cavalry and elephants, that were coming from Numidia, under the command of Jugurtha, a young prince, whom we shall see hereafter making a very great figure in the Roman annals.

620.

The siege of
Numantia.

Scipio is continued in the command, till such time as Numantia should be reduced. Upon his laying siege to this city, one would think that his conduct betrayed in some measure the fear which the Numantines had so strongly imprinted on the Romans. With an army six or seven times stronger than theirs, he did not so much as make one vigorous attack: he only surrounded the place with a double ditch, behind which was raised a rampart with towers and other military works: he likewise stopped the navigation of their river with a dike of stones, and of timber stuck with iron spikes, so that there could be no communication with the city by water. But we must form a more advantageous idea of this celebrated captain, when we recollect his African campaigns. He attacked the Numantines by famine, because this was the surest way to reduce them; and he did not think proper to expose his troops against a desperate enemy. Historians relate, that the Numantines chose rather to kill and to eat one another, than to surrender at discretion; and that at length, a small number remaining set fire to the city, and perished in the flames. Yet there were fifty of them left to adorn Scipio's triumph, and a greater number were sold into slavery. The demolition of Numantia, with the victories obtained by Brutus, who had then intirely subdued the *Farther Spain*, put an end, for some time, to the Spanish wars.

Numantia
reduced and
demolished.

Beginning
of the di-
sturbances of
the Gracchi.

This year appeared the first sparks of those domestic combustions, which at length destroyed the Roman commonwealth: I mean the affair of the Gracchi, the first sedition that polluted the city with civil blood. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, of whom mention has been made already, had got himself chosen tribune of the people, with a view of proposing a law extremely contrary to the interest of the nobility. He insisted, that by virtue of the *agrarian* law, made at the motion of the tribunes Sextius and Licinius, towards the year of Rome three hundred and eighty, whosoever possessed more than five hundred acres of land, should part with the overplus; that those lands should be distributed among the poor citizens; and that in cultivating them the proprietors should be obliged to employ no slaves, but freemen who were upon the spot. None but so enterprizing, and per-

Agrarian
law.

haps

haps so turbulent a man, as Gracchus, could have succeeded in an attempt, attended with such great difficulties. Every thing turned out as he could have wished; the law passed; and he was named commissioner, or triumvir, with his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Caius Gracchus, to make the distribution of lands. Luckily at this very time, Attalus king of Pergamus happening to die without children, after bequeathing his dominions and effects to the Romans, Sempronius seized on those treasures in the name of the public, and divided them among those citizens, who could not partake in the distribution of lands. His triumph was but short; for he was killed in the midst of his friends and adherents, the very day they were going to continue him in the tribuneship for the following year. An inconsiderate gesture was the cause of his ruin: he had agreed with his friends, that if he should judge necessary to maintain his cause against the nobles by force of arms, he would give them a signal from the *rostra*, by putting his hand to his head. This having made some of the assembly believe that he wanted to be crowned, instantly his enemies thought themselves sufficiently justified in using violence against him and his adherents; so that above three hundred were killed in the fray. It is generally agreed, that Gracchus's demand had the appearance of justice, and that the most reprehensible part of his conduct, was the violent method by which he attained his end. I have omitted the detail of this affair, out of regard to brevity; I shall only take notice, that he prevailed on the people to depose his colleague Octavius, for opposing the above law. This action, by subverting the right of opposition, the safeguard of the republic, gave a mortal wound to the state. And indeed it was very difficult, that out of ten tribunes, there should not be one prudent man, who disapproved of the rash proceedings of the rest.

Sempronius
Gracchus
is killed.

621.

The complaints which Gracchus had raised against the abuse of employing slaves to till the lands, were but too well founded. In consequence thereof, the poor freemen of the provinces found themselves reduced, for want of employment, either to perish with misery, or to fly their country; and besides such a multitude of foreign slaves might grow formidable to their masters. Of this they had now a fatal instance before their eyes. Six years were elapsed since near two hundred thousand slaves had taken up arms in Sicily (d), under the command of one of their own fraternity, named Eunus (e), who had prevailed on

The war of
the slaves in
Sicily.

(d) This revolt of the slaves was owing to the cruelty of their masters. They were all marked with an hot iron in their foreheads, shut up every night in close prisons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though at the same time they were scarce allowed the necessaries of life.

(e) He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and having been taken prisoner of war, had passed through the hands of several masters, till at length he was sold to a Sclerian lord, named Antigines.

the multitude to proclaim him king, and exercised over this beautiful province the most shocking barbarities. In vain did four prætorian armies march successively against them; those armies were all defeated. At length in the year 619, Scipio's colleague, Fulvius Flaccus, began to obtain some advantages over them; and the year following, Piso (a) defeated them in a pitched battle; but the glory of terminating the war was reserved for Rupilius. This consul had orders to attack forthwith the city of Enna (b), which Eunus had made his capital. It is said that the Sibylline oracles having been consulted on the present calamities, the answer was, that the Romans must go and pay their adorations to the goddess Ceres, in the most ancient temple she had in the world; and this was Enna: Rupilius however thought proper to begin with *Taurrominium*, a maritime town, from whence the rebels had an opportunity of being supplied with men and provisions. In imitation of Africanus, he determined to reduce it by famine; on which occasion all the horrors of the siege of Numantia were revived; for the unhappy wretches killed and devoured one another. The town is betrayed to the Romans: and Enna undergoes the same fate. Eunus having shut himself up in that city, forces his way through the Roman army, and flies for refuge to a steep rock; higher he is pursued by the Romans, and is delivered up alive to the consul, who intends to send him to Rome, but he dies in prison.

This spirit of rebellion amongst the slaves spread itself to Italy, and even to the East; one hundred and fifty were put to death at Rome, four thousand at Sinuessæ, four hundred and fifty at Minturnæ, a thousand in the neighbourhood of Athens, for different conspiracies. But all these troubles subsided, as soon as Sicily, the source of the whole mischief, was settled by the victories of Rupilius, and by the new code of excellent laws, which that general, in conjunction with ten commissioners, according to custom, drew up for the Sicilians.

(a) This was *Caius Cæcilius Piso*, author of the famous law *de repetundis*, against the avarice of magistrates, who robbed the public by their extortion. The *repetundæ pecuniæ* were, so called *à repetendo*, from demanding back, because private people (*repetitorem*) demanded back from magistrates, or persons in public office, the moneys which those magistrates had taken, either in the provinces, or at Rome, for the administration of justice, or for any public discharge of their duty. A certain prætor was appointed for the inquisition of this crime, and a great penalty was laid on the offenders. This same Piso was also called *Frugi*, for buying up, with the greatest disinterestedness and frugality, a large quantity of corn in Sicily, for the use of the people of Rome, who were afflicted with scarcity: he even remitted to the public treasury a considerable part of the money, which had been sent him for that purpose.

(b) A very ancient city in the heart of Sicily, famous for the rape of Proserpine, which is said to have happened in this neighbourhood. Diodorus commends it for the beauty of its meadows, and the fragrance of its violets and other flowers: *Ἰσι δὲ ἡ πόλις ὁμοίαν ὄναι τῇ τῆς πόλεως, ἵσι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀλλοιᾶς ἀνέσει παλαιοτάτης ἐν πρῆτης καὶ Σίσι ἀγῆσθαι*. Diod. lib. 5. The same author places it in *umbilico Siciliae*, *Σικελίας οὐμφαλῶς οὐρανίζουσαι*. Claudian calls it *Enna parens florum*. Here was a famous temple of Ceres; hence Silius styles her, *Ennaea numina Diva*. It is also written with an aspiration, for we read in Pliny, *municipæ Iliacensis*, lib. 3. c. 8.

622.

The civil broils still continued at Rome between the nobility and the tribunes of the people, about the *Sempronian* law, which survived *Gracchus* its author. His brother *Caius Gracchus*, enforced the execution of it with all his might, by means of a factious tribune, named *Papirius Carbo*. It was he that made the motion for the *lex Carbonia*, of which we have already taken notice. He likewise proposed a second, importing that it should be lawful for the people to continue the tribunes so long as they thought proper. *Scipio* and *Laelius* spoke so strongly against this seditious law, that it was rejected even by the suffrages of the people. *Scipio* was brother-in-law to the *Gracchi*, for he had married their sister *Sempronia*; but he did not espouse their quarrel. *Carbo* happening to ask him one day in full comitia, what he thought of the murder of his brother-in-law; *I think*, answered *Scipio* boldly, *that if Gracchus intended to sow discord in the republic, he was lawfully put to death*. But from that moment he became disagreeable to the populace.

New disturbances about the *Sempronian* law.

This year two plebeians were chosen censors, contrary to the custom that had prevailed 220 years, of joining a patrician and a plebeian in that office. The two persons chosen were *Q. Metellus*, surnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*. They closed the lustrum with a census, by which they found three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty three citizens able to bear arms.

War is declared in Asia against *Aristonicus*, the natural son of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had seized on the throne in prejudice to the Romans, after the death of *Attalus*. The consul *Crassus*, to whom this province fell by lot, was more fit for negotiation than fighting: he had prevailed on the Roman allies to supply him with troops, at the head of which he laid waste the kingdom of *Pergamus*. His army, or rather four armies, being greatly embarrassed by the number of waggons loaded with plunder, fell into an ambuscade laid by *Aristonicus*: the consul was taken prisoner and disarmed, in which state he provoked a soldier to kill him, that he might not survive his disgrace. *Crassus* was *pontifex maximus*, the first who held that dignity, and at the same time had the command of an army out of Italy.

War with *Aristonicus*.

623.

Perpenna, who succeeded him in the conduct of the war, was a soldier of fortune, raised by merit alone to the first dignity of the republic. He defeats *Aristonicus*, who flies to *Stratonicea* (a), where he is besieged and taken prisoner. *Perpenna* died at *Pergamus* in his way home; and the triumph which he so richly deserved, was conferred on his successor *Aquilius*, who had rendered himself absolutely unworthy of that honour. In order to oblige a few cities to surrender, he poisoned the aqueducts; a practice contrary to humanity and the

(a) A city of *Caria*, and colony of the *Macedonians*.

Pergamus
subdued.

law of nations. The kingdom of Pergamus having been intirely subdued, was called the *province of Asia*; just as they had given the name of the *province of Africa* to the territory of Carthage.

The info-
lence of the
tribune
Labeo.

At Rome, Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, willing to be revenged of the censor Metellus, who had struck him out of the list of senators, condemned him without any form of trial, to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and he would have executed his sentence immediately, had it not been for another tribune, who came and opposed the unjust decision, at the earnest desire of Metellus's relations. This despotic power of the tribunes, in the midst of a city so jealous of her liberty, is really amazing; and the ill use they made of it, may be looked upon as one of the principal causes of those disturbances, which ended in the total ruin of the republic. So far was Labeo from being punished, that he resumed his place in the senate by virtue of a new law, enacting that all the tribunes should vote in that assembly; to complete his triumph, he confiscated the effects of Metellus, and ordered them to be sold in the forum by sound of trumpet.

624.

Death of
Africanus
the second.

The authority of a dictator was the only thing that could relieve the republic. On the one hand, the city was rent with broils and factions; on the other, the allies in the provinces loudly complained of the injustice with which the triumvirs or commissioners divided the lands, showing great partiality to the inhabitants of Rome, whose suffrages they might some time or other have occasion for. Scipio undertook the defence of the allies, spoke in their behalf before the senate and people, and demonstrated that it was necessary to take the execution of the Sempronian law out of the hands of the commissioners, and to lodge their whole authority in one single person. But who could discharge that important office with such dignity as Scipio? He did not dissemble it himself, for he openly aspired to the dictatorship. This being an unpardonable crime in the judgment of the commissioners, they caused him to be strangled in his own bed in the night, when Rome seemed disposed to make the next day the most glorious of his whole life. Thus died, in his fifty-sixth year, the second Africanus, whose talents and exploits equalled, if not surpassed, those of the conqueror of Hannibal. No inquiries were made after the authors of his death, because, says Plutarch, the people were afraid that if this matter came to be canvassed, C. Gracchus would be found among the persons concerned in the murder. The consuls at this time were employed; one, as we have already mentioned, in settling the kingdom of Pergamus; the other in quelling some disturbances in Istria, where he was attended with success.

625. 626.

The Romans would have shut the temple of Janus, had they not perceived the seeds of war ready to shoot up in Italy, from the
great

great discontent of the allies : for this reason the legions were kept on foot at all events these two years.

627.

This year was also spent in seeming tranquillity ; but C. Gracchus was engaged in private cabals. The consul Aurelius having been called by a revolt into Sardinia, this gave an opportunity to Gracchus, who attended him as his quaestor, to raise his reputation greatly with the multitude. The army coming to want cloaths and provisions in a very severe winter, Gracchus, who was as eloquent and enterprizing as his brother, went to the several towns that continued faithful to the republic, and prevailed with them to furnish the troops with the necessary cloaths, which they had absolutely refused the consul. At the same time, he solicited Micipsa king of Numidia, and obtained from him a supply of corn. The senate would have been glad to be obliged for so important a service to any other person but Gracchus : they were sensible of the consequences ; to prevent which, they sent fresh troops to Sardinia, and recalled those upon that island : but this was bringing so many adherents of Gracchus and his associates to Rome. M. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the triumvirs, is raised to the consulate.

The disturbances of the Gracchi renewed.

Caius Gracchus a favourite of the people.

628.

He revives a project, in which Tiberius Gracchus had heretofore miscarried : this was to grant, by way of indemnity, the right of Roman citizenship to all those allies, who had no share in the divided lands. Fulvius seemed determined to push this affair with the utmost vehemence ; but a war intervening, diverted his active genius another way. He was sent beyond the Alps to fight the Ligurians, the *Vocontii* (d), and the *Salvi* (e), who were waging war against the Massilians ; and he returned triumphant towards the end of the next year. The allies finding their hopes frustrated by Fulvius's departure, began to meditate a revolt. Fregellæ declared itself the first ; but was delivered up to the prætor Opimius by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, who had been the chief author of the rebellion : the town was immediately razed to the ground, in order to strike a terror into the rest.

The consul Fulvius sent against the Salvi, &c.

Fregellæ rebels, and is razed.

The coast of Africa was infested this year with a prodigious number of locusts, which devoured all the fruits of the earth. They proved more noxious after their death ; for they infected the air, and caused a pestilence, which, according to Orosius, destroyed above a million of inhabitants in Numidia and in the province of Carthage.

(d) The *Vocontii* were a people of Dauphiny.

(e) Florus calls them *Salvi*, the epitomizer of Livy *Salvii*, and Pliny *Salluvii* ; according to Strabo, they inhabited all that country which extends from the Rhone to the Var.

629.

Caius Gracchus chosen
tribune.

Caius Gracchus stands for the office of tribune of the people, and is chosen. On this occasion it appeared how greatly the plebeians were devoted to his interest; they flocked in such numbers from the country, and from the allied provinces, that the *campus Martius* was not able to hold them; so that the greatest part got upon the roofs of the houses, and the terraces round the *Comitium*, from whence with loud shouts they voted for Gracchus. Cicero informs us, that none before that time had carried the art of oratory to so high a pitch as Caius; and that if he had lived longer, he would have attained to such a degree of excellence, as no succeeding orator could surpass. Cicero ought to be believed upon his word; and besides the facts are sufficient to give us the highest idea of the eloquence of Caius Gracchus. He was justly accused of having quitted, without the consul's leave, the army in Sardinia, where he served as pro-quæstor; he was also charged, and not without probability, of having sown the seeds of rebellion among the allies; yet as soon as he spoke, the people declared him innocent.

630.

His new
laws.

Further; he proposed a number of new laws in favour of the plebeians, and got them passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the nobility. The most remarkable, are those ordaining that every month a sufficient quantity of corn should be distributed to each citizen at a very low price, that the troops should be clothed at the expence of the republic, and that nobody should be compelled to bear arms before the age of seventeen. We may easily imagine what an effect such favourable laws must have produced in the minds of the people; they had now no other will but that of Gracchus, and they obeyed him as readily as if he was their sovereign. It was doubtless then in the transport of their joy, that the people erected a statue to the mother of Gracchus with this inscription, to *Cornelia mother of the Gracchi*. This illustrious daughter of the first Africanus, had often reproached her sons, before they were concerned in public affairs, that she was commonly called by way of honour, only the mother-in-law of the second Africanus (b). These words must have produced a proper effect in the minds of her sons, since it was afterwards imagined that she could be dignified with no higher title, than that of the mother of the Gracchi. This lady is represented by historians as a person possessed in an eminent degree of all the virtues that adorn a female mind, and even of abilities superior to her sex: yet she may be censured for having been too eager in exciting the ambition of her sons, which proved so fatal to themselves, and to the republic.

(b) She had a daughter named Sempronius, who was married to the second Africanus.

Gracchus was greatly seconded in his attempts by Fulvius, who returned from Transalpine Gaul in higher credit than ever. C. Sextius, who succeeded him in this province, set out too late, and was incapable of doing any thing till this year, when he was only proconsul. He obtained a complete victory over the Salyes, in the neighbourhood of that very spot, where stands the town of Aix, which he founded, and is now the capital of Provence: in Latin it is called *Aquæ Sextiæ* (i), from the name of its founder, and from the hot springs with which that spot is supplied. Sextius extended his conquests along the coast from Marseilles as far as Italy, and gave the whole country to the Massilians. The Salyes defeated.

The consul Metellus subdued the Balearic islands, now called Majorca and Minorca: this was a mere undertaking of the consul himself, who wanted the surname of *Balearicus*. To acquire this, he had only to cut the throats of thirty thousand helpless people, who inhabited those islands. They had no other arms but the sling, at which, it is true, they were the most dextrous people in the world: but Metellus landed without the least danger, having covered the decks of all his galleys with hides. Finding the inhabitants of those islands dispersed in the cavities of rocks, which served for their habitations, he ordered the greatest part of them to be massacred: but in order to people Majorca, he built two cities upon the island, viz. *Palma* (k) and *Pollentia*, and transported three thousand Spaniards thither from the continent. The Balearic islands subdued.

Gracchus is continued in the tribuneship.

631.

He draws the Roman knights over to his side, by getting a law passed, which gave them a right of judging all private causes in conjunction with the prætors, whereas this privilege had always belonged to the senators. Gracchus seemed to want nothing more at present than the title of king, so great was his ascendancy over the people. But the spirit of faction knows no bounds. This turbulent tribune wanted to increase the number of his adherents, by extending the right of suffrage at the comitia even to the allies. Upon which C. Fannius, one of the consuls for the year, openly declared against him, though he had hitherto professed himself his friend: he ordered his lictors to drive such of those allies out of Rome, as were come to give their suffrages; and Grac-

(i) Ptolemy calls it *Ἰθάλα Σέξτια κολώνια*, *Aquæ Sextiæ colonia*; and from the following inscription in Gruterus, *Col. Jul. Aug. Aquis Sextiis*, it appears that this colony of Sextius was improved by Augustus. Sidonius in Narbone gives it the elegant appellation of *Baiæ Sextiæ*.

Nuper quadrupedante quum citato

Ires Phocida, Sextiasque Baias,

Illustres titulisque præliisque

Urbes per duo consulum tropæa.

Where by *Phocida* he means Marseilles, built by the Phocians.

(k) It is now called *Mallorca*.

chus having opposed the licitors but very faintly, his credit from that instant began to decline. The senate availing themselves of this conjuncture to set faction against faction, applied themselves to another tribune, named Livius Drusus, desiring him to court the people, by loading them with favours; a scheme artfully laid, and which succeeded beyond expectation. Gracchus contributed to it himself, by accepting of a commission to build a new city on the ruins of Carthage, which he called *Junonia*: but this undertaking was interrupted by pretended prodigies, and at his return he found Drusus had engrossed the affection of the plebeians. Having now only the dregs of the people on his side, he was reduced to solicit their favour by means the most abject and servile: he left the palace of his ancestors, and took a little lodging in the most populous part of the city; and lastly, without attending to the consequences of such a step, he ordered a scaffold to be pulled down, which his colleagues had erected in the public forum, to see more conveniently a show of gladiators. He pretended, that the scaffold was injurious to the common people, who had no money to hire places upon it. His colleagues found means to shew their resentment; for the election of new tribunes coming on, the old ones, whose business it was to collect the votes, contrived to exclude him without any difficulty.

632.

Gracchus
raises a sedi-
tion in
Rome.

Yet he still appeared on the rostra, and made more noise than ever. Whenever there were any debates at Rome about enacting or repealing a law, every citizen had a right to be heard pro or con. For want of some other object, Gracchus had recourse to the law concerning the colony of Carthage: he made a speech in favour of this settlement, and raised such a ferment among the multitude, that one of the licitors belonging to the consul Opimius was killed. The consul, who had long bore a grudge to Gracchus, embraces this opportunity to sound the alarm. The next day he assembles the senate, and prevails on them to draw up a decree, empowering him to do, in the present circumstances, whatever he should judge proper for the good of the republic. Instantly two Roman armies appeared in the middle of the city, ready to cut one another's throats: the one composed of consular troops, with the consul at their head, seizes on the capitol; the other consisting of a confused multitude, which still followed the fortune of Gracchus, had posted themselves on mount Aventine, and were commanded by the consular Fulvius. Opimius quitted his first post to attack the rebels, and began the engagement, by ordering a body of Cretan archers to make a discharge, which did great execution. The battle becoming general, they fought pell-mell, senators and knights mixed with common soldiers, till the consul took a more expeditious way to put an end to the affair. He proclaimed an amnesty for all those who should lay down their arms, and offered a reward of their weight in gold for the heads of Fulvius and Gracchus. In a moment those two chiefs of the sedition were abandoned; and the populace thought only

only of gaining the reward set upon their heads. And now the most shocking scenes of barbarity were acted; Gracchus's head was brought to the consul by L. Septimuleius, one of that unfortunate person's most zealous adherents, who snatched it out of the hands of the soldier that cut it off. The wretch shewed himself a cheat, as well as a traitor to his party; for in order to enhance the price of the head of his friend, he first took out the brains, and poured melted lead into the skull. It is reckoned that three thousand persons were either killed in the fray, or executed afterwards by Opimius's order: their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their relations were forbid to wear mourning. Licinia, Gracchus's widow, was even deprived of her dowry. The people were not sensible of their loss, till it was no longer time to repair it. The agrarian law died with the Gracchi. The senate began with engaging a tribune to take off the prohibition, by which the poor were restrained from selling the lands that had been adjudged to them; another, at their instigation, decreed that the lands should remain in the hands of the ancient possessors, upon paying certain sums, which should be divided among the poor citizens; and soon after the payment of these very sums was suppressed. The people finding themselves reduced to the condition they were in before the publication of the agrarian law, lamented the death of the Gracchi, erected statues to their memory, and consecrated the ground on which they had been slain, with sacrifices and festivals in their honour.

Gracchus is killed.

The Gracchian laws repealed.

The war continued in Transalpine Gaul. The preceding year, Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the consuls, had some disputes with the Allobroges (i) and Arverni, who insisted upon the restoration of Teutomalus, king of the Salyes. The Allobroges inhabited all that tract of country, which extends from the Rhone and the Isere (k) as far as the lake of Geneva; the Arverni, if we may believe Strabo, occupied all the southern part of Gaul from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, and even as far as the ocean. The Ædui, another people of Gaul, between the Saone and the Loire, interfered in this quarrel as friends of the Romans, with whom they had lately contracted an alliance, and as particular enemies of the Allobroges and Arverni. The war broke out this year under the proconsulate of Domitius, who defeated the Allobroges and the Arverni towards the conflux of the Sorgue and the Rhone. But it was not the custom of the Gauls to reckon themselves conquered only for having lost a single battle. They raised another army of two hundred thousand men, and marched against the consul Fabius, who had only thirty thousand, yet gained a complete victory over the Gauls: so true is it that the

The Gauls defeated.

(i) Horace censures their infidelity, epod. 16.

Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox.

(k) The classic names of some places mentioned in this paragraph are, *Rhodanus*, the Rhone; *Isara*, the Isere; *Lemanus lacus*, the lake of Geneva; *Araris*, the Saone; *Liger*, the Loire; *Sulga*, the Sorgue.

strength of armies does not consist chiefly in numbers. This famous battle was fought near the conflux of the Rhone and the Isere. Historians assure us, that there perished on this occasion at least a hundred and twenty thousand Gauls, and only fifteen Romans: this would seem incredible, if we did not consider that the enemy were attacked in passing the Rhone, before they had time to form in order of battle; and that not being able to withstand the first onset of the Romans, they were soon put to the rout; and flying towards the river, multitudes of them were drowned. Fabius intirely reduced the Allobroges, and thence took the surname of *Allobrogicus*. The Arverni were not fairly conquered, but a method was contrived to keep them in a state of dependence. Domitius treacherously seized on the person of Bitultus their king, who was detained the remainder of his days in Italy, to answer for the behaviour of his subjects. Congeniatius, the son of this prince, was likewise sent for to Rome, where he was educated in a manner suitable to his rank; and the senate did not restore him to his dominions, till such time as they thought they might absolutely depend upon him.

633.

L. Opimius is accused before the people by the tribune P. Duilius, for having put to death a great number of citizens during his consulate (*m*), without observing the forms of justice: but he is acquitted. It is doubtless surprizing that the commons should pass such a decision, contrary to their own interest, and to the law enacting, that no citizen should be put to death but by the consent of the people. They were over-persuaded on this occasion by the eloquence of the consul Papirius Carbo, who had undertaken the defence of Opimius.

634.

No sooner was Carbo's office expired, than he himself was overpowered by the eloquence of young Licinius Crassus, one of the most celebrated orators the republic ever produced. When he ascended the rostra, he was so intimidated at the sight of the audience, that he seemed to lose himself even in the exordium: but the prator, at whose tribunal he pleaded, having the complaisance for him to adjourn the court to the next day, he took courage, and spoke with such energy, that Carbo sinking into despair, prevented his condemnation by poison (*n*). The charge against him was, that he had been concerned in the late troubles, and in the assassination of the second Africanus. He had been of the plebeian party, till he rose to the consulate by the interest of the nobility.

(*m*) The consulate of Opimius is celebrated for the best and most plentiful vintage that had ever been known. In Pliny's time, that is near two hundred years after, some wines of that very growth were sold at an extravagant price. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 14. c. 4.

(*n*) Valerius Maximus says, he killed himself with *cantbarides*, to avoid a more ignominious death, lib. 3. c. 7.

Expedition of the consul Metellus Calvus against the Dalmatians, The Dalmatians subdued. which procured him the surname of *Dalmaticus*.

This year the famous Marius discharged the office of tribune: his extraction was so mean, that even the place of his nativity was hardly known (m); but every body had heard what Scipio said to his officers, while Marius served under him at the siege of Numantia; *what man is better qualified to succeed me, than Marius, in case I should drop off?* Encouraged by so favourable a declaration, he dared to vie for civil magistracies, and began with the tribuneship, a plebeian office, which served him as a step to further preferments: on this occasion he met with great difficulties, which did not at all discourage him; on the contrary, his boldness was increased by opposition.

635.

Since the successful expeditions of the Romans to Transalpine Gaul, they sent every year a consul into that province at the head of an army. Further successes in Transalpine Gaul. Q. Marcius Rex, who was appointed to that command this year, is thought to have extended the Roman empire over the country bordering on the Mediterranean, from the Alps as far as the Pyrenees.

636.

There he founded the colony of Narbonne, and gave it his own name, *Narbo Marcius* (n). Cicero called this colony the guard of the people of Rome, and their bulwark against the Gallic nations. Narbonne built.

637.

Marius is raised to the prætorship, a curule office, which gave him admittance into the senate. He was charged with having purchased the suffrages of the people: and the senator Cassius Sabaco, for lending him a hand on this occasion, was degraded by the censors. Marius created prætor. Valerius Maximus makes use of a very proper expression, to mark the genius and conduct of Marcius: where he says, *that he was not introduced, but forced his way into the senate, irrupit magis in curiam quam intravit.*

638.

The consuls this year were M. Æmilius Scaurus, and L. Cæcilius Metellus. The former was of an illustrious family, that of the Æmilii, though of a branch long since fallen into poverty and oblivion: he had often distinguished himself by his great abilities; and during his consulate, the censors Metellus Dalmaticus, and Domitius Ahenobarbus,

(m) He was a native of the country of the *Arpinates*, in the territory of the *Volsi*; his father's name was Marius, and his mother's *Fucinia*. He was a man of uncommon size, and strength of body; of excellent sense, and an enterprising genius: but at the same time had a fierce countenance, and had been brought up, great part of his youth, in rustic employments.

(n) It was the capital of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and is still called *Narbonne*, situate near a bay of the Mediterranean, and looking towards the Pyrenean mountain.

barbus, declared him prince of the senate. Those very cenfors struck two unworthy senators out of the roll, among whom was Sabaco; they likewise proscribed games of hazard, and concerts of music. They finished their office with a census, at which there appeared to be three hundred and ninety four thousand three hundred and thirty six citizens able to bear arms.

Scaurus had the conduct of the war in Gaul, where he made several conquests, with such rapidity, that he had leisure sufficient at his return to employ his soldiers in digging canals to drain off the waters of the Po, and other rivers, which overflowing their beds in the territory of Parma and Placentia, made a kind of morass, so as to render the country almost impassable. His colleague, M. Cæcilius Metellus, went over to Sardinia to quiet some fresh disturbances.

639.

War with
the Scordisci.

The Romans
defeated.

The Scordisci
defeated.

Venus
Verticordia.

This year the Romans began to govern the conquered part of Transalpine Gaul by a prætor: and from that time it was called a *Roman province*, a name which Provence has still preserved. It was the fate of the Romans to have Gauls to contend with in all parts. For no sooner was peace restored in Transalpine Gaul, than they were obliged to maintain a war against the Scordisci, a nation of Gallic original, but settled long ago on the borders of Thrace, at the conflux of the Save (o) and the Danube. Advice being received of their having invaded Macedon, the consul Porcius Cato was sent to oppose them; but having suffered himself to be drawn into a defile, his whole army was cut off, and he alone saved himself by flight. T. Didius, prætor of Illyricum, marches with all expedition against the enemy, who had spread themselves over Thessaly, as far as the coast of the Adriatic: he obtains a complete victory over them, and drives them back to the Danube.

The vestals Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, having been guilty of incontinency, were put to death with their gallants. To repair this scandal, a temple was erected to *Venus Verticordia* (p), a new appellation, to signify that this goddess should be invoked in this temple, to turn the hearts of the Roman women. It was ordained that the honour of consecrating the statue of Venus should be conferred on the

(o) The Latin names, *Savus* and *Danubius*.

(p) *Venus* was so called, according to Cicero, *quod per eam omnia proveniant*. *Verticordia* was the surname of *Venus Urania* or *Cælestis*, whom the ancients worshipped, that she might divert their thoughts from unchaste pleasures. The Greeks invoked her by the name of *Apostrophia*. Her temple was in the *via Salaria*, without the *porta Collina*. The young maidens that resorted to this temple, used to offer up to the goddess the babies, with which they had amused themselves in their infancy. The fact above mentioned is taken notice of by Ovid, lib. 4. *Fastorum*.

Roma pudiciâ proavorum tempore lapsa est,

Cumæam; veteres, consuluisse anum.

Templa jubet Veneri fieri; quibus ordine factis,

Inde Venus verso nomine corda tenet.

most virtuous woman in Rome: this was deemed by the whole sex to be Sulpicia, daughter of Sulpicius Paterculus, and wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus; as Scipio Nasica had heretofore the like honour conferred upon him by the senate.

640.

The consul C. Cæcilius Metellus, and his successor M. Livius Drusus, obtain new advantages over the Scordisci; of which people there is hardly any further mention made in history. Two other wars of greater importance engrossed the attention of the Romans; one against Jugurtha in Numantia; the other against the Cimbri (p) and Teutones (q) in divers parts. Those barbarians leaving their northern habitations to seek their fortune in more southern climates, encountered with the Romans for the first time in *Noricum*, which answers to the country now called Upper Austria and the circle of Bavaria. There they defeated the consul Cn. Papirius Carbo, who had advanced that way in order to stop their progress: but instead of diminishing their march into Italy, as Rome had reason to fear, they turned towards Gaul, and entered the country of the *Helvetii* (r). From this period, history loses sight of them for some years; so now we come to Jugurtha.

641.

This prince was the natural son of Mastabal, one of the three sons of Masinissa, who, after the decease of their father, followed the advice of the second Africanus, and divided the government among them. Micipsa, by the death of his brothers, remained sole possessor of the throne, which ought naturally, upon his demise, to have gone to his two sons Adherbal and Hiempsal; but that prince having adopted his nephew Jugurtha, out of regard to his extraordinary merit, made him his joint heir, and ordered him to have an equal share with his own children. But the third part of a kingdom could not satisfy Jugurtha's ambition. He therefore suborns a person to murder Hiempsal, makes war against Adherbal, and besieges Cirta, his capital, where he obliges him to surrender upon terms, and afterwards treacherously murders him, contrary to the capitulation. Adherbal applied to the Romans, and had even laid his complaints in person before the senate; but he found all the avenues to justice stoppt up by Jugurtha's gold. The senate were satisfied, for sake, with sending, at three different times, commissioners and de-

Inundation
of Cimbri
and Teuto-
nes.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated.

Corruption
of the Ro-
man senate.

(p) The *Cimbri* were the inhabitants of the peninsula of *Jutland*, which the ancients called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. They are said to have been originally descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and to have taken the name of *Cimbri*, upon changing their old habitations.

(q) The *Teutones* were a northern people bordering on the Cimbrians; afterwards all the Germans were called by this name, and it was not till towards Cæsar's time that they began to be known by the appellation of Germans.

(r) The *Helvetii* were the people of Switzerland.

puties, who returned from Numidia much richer than they went, and did nothing in favour of the unfortunate Adherbal. It is even said, that the illustrious Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the senate, who had been at the head of the last deputation, was not proof against the presents of Jugurtha, who, as Florus expresses himself, triumphed over Roman virtue in the person of Scaurus. At length, to the eternal reproach of the senate, an honest citizen, named Caius Memmius, who was chosen tribune for the next year, thought it his duty to lay the affair before the comitia : upon which the conscript fathers, to prevent the decision of the people, passed a decree, that one of the consuls of the ensuing year should march an army into Numidia.

642.

The consul Calpurnius Bestia sent to Numidia.

Unfortunately the conduct of the Numidian war fell to Calpurnius Piso Bestia, a man capable of withstanding any attack, but that of gold. The prodigious sums offered by Jugurtha, disarmed the consul, so that he is said to have acted in concert with Scaurus, who attended him as his lieutenant, in granting peace to that prince, contrary to the intention of the republic. For the senate had refused to treat with Jugurtha's son, whom he sent to Rome, unless he delivered up himself and his dominions, by way of *dedition* to the Romans. The consul only obliged him to give the republic a certain number of cattle and elephants, with a very inconsiderable sum of money.

The tribune Memmius stirs up the people against Jugurtha.

This was a fresh opportunity for Memmius the tribune to display his zeal and eloquence. Sallust has preserved the fine speech he made before the people assembled in comitia, where it was decreed, that the prætor Cassius should go over to Numidia, and bring Jugurtha with him to Italy, under the safeguard of the people of Rome. Cassius gave likewise his own word and honour, on which Jugurtha relied as much, if we may believe Sallust, as on the public faith ; so high a reputation had this honest magistrate. The king of Numidia was summoned and interrogated before the people by Memmius ; but the tribune C. Bæbius, whom Jugurtha had bribed, forbade Memmius to speak, and had the impudence to persist in his opposition, to the great concern of all honest men.

This prince comes to Rome.

643.

Jugurtha causes Massiva to be assassinated,

And goes back to Numidia.

Jugurtha employs a person at Rome to assassinate Massiva, a Numidian prince, who had espoused the cause of Adherbal, and laid claim to the crown of Numidia, as natural son of Gulussa, one of the sons of Masinissa. After this base act, he makes all possible haste back to Numidia. The consul Albinus follows him ; but returns without effecting any thing either by arms or negotiation. Being convicted of having connived at Jugurtha, he is condemned to banishment, together with Calpurnius Piso ; L. Opimius the persecutor of the Gracchi ; C. Porcius Cato, who was intangled in this affair, nobody can tell in what manner ; and C. Galba of the college of pontifices, and

and the first of that order that had ever incurred a criminal sentence. Æmilius Scaurus found means to be nominated at the head of the commission that tried the abovementioned persons for bribery, though probably he himself was more guilty than any of them. Aulus, brother of the consul Albinus, who was left as proprætor with the command of the army in Numidia, is defeated by Jugurtha, who obliges him and the Roman army to pass under the yoke.

The Romans defeated by Jugurtha.

644.

The consul Silanus is sent to Narbonne Gaul against the Cimbri, who threatened Italy with an invasion: the consul is defeated, and the Cimbri ravage the whole country beyond the Alps, subject to the republic.

The Romans defeated by the Cimbri.

The Romans wanted their revenge for the affront they had received in Numidia, an affront of a most ignominious nature, and unparalleled since the affair of the Caudine forks: and they found a general for their purpose in the person of Metellus, colleague of Silanus. This able commander would neither be amused with proposals of peace, nor corrupted by presents; but attacked and defeated the enemy on the banks of the Muthus (s). After this victory, he spread his troops all over Numidia, ravaged the country, and put a garrison into Vacca (t), a considerable city, where he established his magazines; and into several other places. But he did not succeed in his attempt upon Zama, which he laid siege to in order to draw the enemy to a second engagement. Jugurtha did not fall into the snare: without risking a battle, he harassed the besiegers with frequent skirmishes; and by constantly alarming the enemy's quarters, he encouraged the besieged to such a degree, that they held out to the end of the campaign. Metellus having missed his aim, took another step, which did him no great honour. Availing himself of the same arts which the Numidian prince had practised so often, and with such success; by specious promises he prevailed on Bomilcar, the king's most intimate confidant, to persuade his master to surrender himself without reserve to the Romans.

Metellus sent against Jugurtha. Jugurtha defeated by Metellus.

Jugurtha delivers up his elephants, arms, money, &c. to the Romans.

Let us but recollect the situation of the Carthaginians, when stripped of every thing by the consuls Marcius and Manilius, they were commanded to abandon their native city; such, or nearly such, was the case of Jugurtha. After he had delivered up to the Romans two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, with all his elephants, all the deserters, and the best part of his arms and horses, he was summoned by the proconsul to appear before him in person, in order to receive his sentence: but he took the same resolution as the Carthaginians, to renew the war.

He renews the war.

(s) A river in that part of Numidia, which belonged to Adherbal: Cellarius calls it *Mutbal*.

(t) A city of Numidia, and according to Sallust, the most considerable mart in all Africa: *forum rerum venalium totius regni maximè celebratum*.

645.

The Romans defeated by the Cimbri, And by the Tigurini.

Metellus is continued in the command of the army in Numidia, in the quality of proconsul. The inhabitants of Vacca massacre the Roman garrison; the proconsul marches in person to avenge the blood of the Romans, retakes and plunders the town, and puts the inhabitants to the sword. Bomilcar being solicited again by Metellus, forms a plot against Jugurtha, which being discovered, Bomilcar is executed. This disconcerted the views of Metellus, who reckoned to finish the war immediately upon the death of Jugurtha. In Narbonne Gaul, Aurelius the consul is defeated by the Cimbri. The year following his successor Galba lost another battle in the country of the Allobroges, against the Tigurini (*r*), an Helvetic nation, who were crossing the country in order to join the Cimbri. Here Cassius was killed, together with Calpurnius Piso, one of his lieutenant generals. The other lieutenant, by name C. Popilius, to save the remainder of the army, agreed that they should pass under the yoke, and deliver up one half of their baggage to the enemy. At his return to Rome he was accused before the people, and went into voluntary banishment, before sentence was pronounced against him.

646.

Marius supplants Metellus.

Marius chosen consul, and appointed to succeed Metellus.

Metellus is supplanted by Marius, who had served the two last campaigns under him, as lieutenant general. So very little notion had Metellus of Marius's obtaining the consulship, that when he asked leave to go to Rome, in order to make interest for this dignity, he answered him in the strain of irony, that it would be time enough for him to stand, when his son Metellus, who was then only twenty years of age, should be old enough to be his colleague. It was still less probable, that Marius should obtain the command of the army in Numidia, in prejudice to Metellus, who had so greatly retrieved the affairs of the republic in two campaigns. But no difficulties deter the ambitious. Marius making a proper use of the disputes, which at that time ran very high between the patricians and the plebeians, availed himself of the obscurity of his birth, to rise to the consulship; at a time when the people were extremely desirous of seeing a person of mean parentage, vested with this dignity, in order to mortify the patricians. By unfair practices he contrived to undermine Metellus, and to be considered himself as the only general capable of subduing Jugurtha. It is true, that the second Africanus never trained up so expert a warrior as Marius, except perhaps the Numidian prince. And indeed it was an object worthy of attention, to see two men, both of whom had been Scipio's pupils, and both old friends, to see them now grown rivals, and disputing the palm at the head of opposite armies.

(*r*) The inhabitants of the *Tigurinus pagus*, or canton of Zurich.

When Marius arrived at the camp in Numidia, Metellus was gone. Marius lands in Africa. After crowning his exploits with the taking of Thala, a place reckoned almost impregnable, from its situation in the middle of a barren desert, after reducing the Numidian king to abandon his territories, in order to beg succours of the Gætuli and the Moors, Metellus returned to Italy, without waiting for the arrival of Marius, whom he had reason to hold in the highest contempt. He met with a much better reception at Rome than he expected; his presence, and his actions pleaded sufficiently in his behalf; his praises were sounded high, and he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Numidicus; lastly, the judges, before whom he was accused by an audacious tribune of having plundered the province committed to his care, refused to inspect his accounts, but took his own word; a triumph superior to the other.

Marius, on the other hand, remained some time in a state of inaction, to discipline the troops he had brought with him, which were mostly new levies. His first essay was against Capsa, such another place as Thala for strength and situation. After a severe march through burning sands, he unexpectedly arrived before that city, and signalized his cruelty, by putting the inhabitants to the sword, who had surrendered at discretion, on condition of having their lives spared. Marius takes and razes Capsa. This bloody execution spread the terror of his name all over Numidia, to the borders of Mauritania; and wherever he came, the country submitted. None but the castle of Mulucha, where Jugurtha had lodged his treasures, refused to open its gates: it was situate on a steep rock, naturally so very smooth, that there was not the least hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to rest upon. Yet Marius attacked it with his usual intrepidity, by a way that had been cut by the inhabitants in the rock, so narrow, that there was hardly room for two men to walk abreast in it. His good fortune did the rest: a Ligurian soldier came and told him, that happening to amuse himself with gathering snails in a moist part of the rock, he had insensibly climbed up to the citadel, which he found intirely deserted. On that side Marius taking advantage, ordered a false attack to be made by the way cut in the rock; while a chosen band, under the conduct of the Ligurian soldier, climbed up to the foot of the wall, scaled it, and made themselves masters of the citadel. Mulucha taken. The expedition to Capsa had raised Marius in the opinion of the soldiers, to an equal degree of reputation with Metellus; but this affair of Mulucha, made them look upon him as an inspired person, highly favoured by the gods. He was now upon his march to put the troops into winter quarters, when he was attacked towards the evening by Jugurtha, and his son-in-law Bocchus, king of the Mauritanians. As the Romans were surprized, they had not time to draw up in order of battle; the most they could do, was to form in platoons, till they got to two neighbouring hills, where they passed the night: at break of day they surprized the enemy in their turn, put them to flight, and made Marius defeats Jugurtha. a terrible slaughter. Marius was supported on this occasion by the quæstor of the army. This was the famous Sylla, who distinguished himself in a very eminent

Sylla serves
under Ma-
rius.

eminent manner, and soon acquired the esteem and friendship of his general, though he had been greatly despised by him at first, upon the notion of his being enervated by vice and debauchery. The enemy attack the Romans a second time, and are absolutely defeated. Bocchus, tired of Jugurtha's alliance, treats privately with Marius, by means of Sylla, and obtains a truce, with permission to send ambassadors to Rome.

647.

These deputies being admitted to the senate, declare that Bocchus had been imposed upon by Jugurtha, that he was sorry for his fault, and that he desired the friendship and alliance of the Romans. The answer he received was *that the senate and people of Rome do not easily forget either services or injuries. Yet since Bocchus repents his misconduct, they forgive him. But as to their friendship and alliance, it is incumbent on him first to deserve it by some important service.*

Jugurtha
betrayed by
Bocchus, and
delivered up
to the Ro-
mans.

Sylla and Marius wanted to be continued in their employments, the one as proconsul, and the other as proquæstor. The former was commissioned to give Bocchus to understand what that important service was, which the republic expected from him. Sylla was a person of great eloquence: yet it was a difficult task to persuade a king to betray his father-in-law, his friend, his ally. Bocchus remained long in suspense whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to Sylla, or Sylla to Jugurtha; but fear at length prevailed, and Jugurtha was sacrificed. Under pretence of coming to a conference, where he was to negotiate a peace between him and Rome, Bocchus drew him into an ambush, cut his attendants in pieces, and seizing on his person, delivers him up to Sylla, who carried him to Cirtha, where the Roman army was still in winter quarters, and from thence he was sent to Rome.

Cæpio reco-
vers To-
losa.

In Transalpine Gaul, the consul (1) Q. Servilius Cæpio takes Tolosa (2) by intelligence, a city which had been heretofore an ally of the Romans, but had surrendered itself to the Cimbri, after their victory over Crassus. He gives it up to be plundered by the soldiers, and appropriates to his own use the greatest part of the immense treasure (3) which the superstition of the Gauls had consecrated to the temple of Apollo. It was observed that Cæpio, and those who shared in the plunder of this sacred treasure, all ended their days miserably. Hence came the proverb, *he has had some of the gold of Tolosa, when speaking of a very unfortunate person.*

(1) During the consulate of Cæpio were born two great men, viz. Pompey the Great at Rome, and Cicero at *Arpinum*, in the territory of the *Volsci*.

(2) Now *Toulouse*.

(3) This treasure is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and as many of silver. Some writers say, that the *Teltesages* brought it from Delphi, after plundering the temple of Pythian Apollo; but Strabo, Pausanias, and Polybius assure us that not one of that sacrilegious race returned home, but were all extirpated: most likely this treasure was dug out of the silver and gold mines, with which the country of the *Teltesages*, according to Strabo and Pausanias, formerly abounded.

648.

Surely Cæpio's avarice and rapines were not known at Rome, when he was declared proconsul in Narbonne Gaul. It fell to the lot of the consul Cneius Manlius, a man whose character was still more contemptible, to be joined with him in command. These two generals happening not to agree, separated their forces; which brought the republic into greater danger than she had ever been exposed to since the foundation of the city. A great number of the Gauls, provoked at the plundering of the temple of Apollo, had joined the Cimbri; this would have been a formidable army, even to abler generals than Cæpio and Manlius. Their armies were attacked at the same time, one by the Gauls, and the other by the Cimbri; and were both cut in pieces. Fourscore thousand Romans and allies perished on this fatal day; only ten soldiers escaped with the two generals; the rest were either slain in battle, or hanged up by the barbarians, who had made a vow to sacrifice the prisoners, as well as all the spoils they took, to the gods. The money found in the two camps was thrown into the Rhone, with the baggage of the Romans; and the horses were drowned.

Cæpio and Manlius defeated by the Cimbri and Gauls.

The consternation which this defeat occasioned in Rome, was increased by the spreading of a report that the enemy were preparing to pass the Alps. In order to put the capital into a state of defence, all the young men able to bear arms were obliged to enlist. On this occasion fencing masters were introduced into the Roman camp, under the name of *campi doctores*, to instruct the young soldiers how to handle their arms, though hitherto they had been only employed in teaching gladiators. All this was managed by the consul Rutilus: for Cæpio had been recalled and deposed; and after a series of misfortunes, died at length of misery in prison (o).

Marius is chosen consul the second time, though he was still in Numidia, regulating his new conquests. Thus the republic broke through all rules, in order to place this general, in such a critical conjuncture, at the head of her armies: for it was not only against law to raise an absent person to the consulate, but likewise to chuse him consul a second time till ten years after the first.

Marius a second time consul.

649.

The first of January was a glorious day to Marius, when he was vested with his second consulate, and made a triumphal entry into Rome: on which occasion, the unfortunate Jugurtha was led in chains before the victor's chariot. This prince, after being made a shew to the populace from the triumphal gate to the capitol, was thrown into a dungeon, where he died at the expiration of six days, of hunger

His triumph.
Death of Jugurtha.

(o) This is the account given by some authors; but Cicero says in express terms that Servilius Cæpio, being banished Rome, retired to Smyrna.

and misery (*p*). That part of his dominions which bordered upon Mauritania, was given to Bocchus; that which lay next to the province of Africa belonging to the Romans, the republic reserved for herself; and the rest was divided between Hiempsal and Mandrestal, princes descended from Masinissa by concubines.

Marius
appointed to
command
against the
Gauls and
the Cimbri.

The road into Italy had been open to the Cimbri and the Gauls ever since their last victory; hence it was a matter of great surprize, to see them turn off, without any apparent reason, and direct their march towards Spain. Marius, who had the conduct of the war in Gaul, found no other enemies, upon his arrival, except the *Tectosages*, whose capital was *Tolosa*. Against these people he sent his lieutenant Sylla, who defeated one of their kings, named Copillus, and took him prisoner. For his own part, he employed his time in disciplining the new levies, which he had sent for from Italy, and from the several nations in alliance with Rome.

The second
servile war
in Sicily.

The second servile war in Sicily. It was occasioned by the horrid injustice of the prætor P. Licinius Nerva, who refused to execute a decree of the senate, whereby all men of free condition, whom the publicans had brought by force from the East into Sicily to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the government, were ordered to be set at liberty. The malecontents chose a slave for their king, whose name was Salvius, of Italian extraction, to judge by the Latin termination of his name: but, to ingratiate himself with his subjects, most of whom were Orientals, he changed it for that of Tryphon. He was soon in a condition to lay siege to Morgantia, a strong city on the banks of the Simæthus (*r*), where he defeated the prætorian army, that was come to raise the siege; and he would have taken the place, had it not been for the vigorous defence made by the slaves of the town, encouraged by a promise of liberty. The prætor opposed the execution of this promise; and this second act of injustice so incensed those brave men, that they all deserted to the enemy. Tryphon seizes on *Triocala* (*s*), a very strong place, and makes it his ordinary residence: his army, at that time, amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men.

At Rome the tribune Domitius transferred the power of electing the pontifices and augurs from their own college to the people: in return for which service the people soon after created Domitius *Summus pontifex*. Marius is continued in the consulate, and command of the army in Gaul. There is reason to think, that a remarkable instance of his impartiality in the administration of justice, which was transacted

(*p*) Livy informs us, that as soon as the triumph was over, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled. His two sons survived him, and spent their lives in captivity at *Venusiam*.

(*r*) A river that runs between Lentini and Catania, and now called *La Giarretta*.

(*s*) A town in the southern part of Sicily, on the river *Ithurus*, and now called *Troccoli*.

before the whole army the last campaign, conduced very much to his gaining the suffrages at Rome: this does him too much honour to pass unnoticed. Marius had a favourite nephew, named C. Lucius, ^{The equity of Marius in} who served under him as legionary tribune, a man of great valour, but ^{his nephew's} extremely addicted to unlawful lust: he was even so abandoned, as to ^{cause.} offer to force a young soldier, who, finding no other way to get out of his impure hands, drew his sword and killed him. Nobody would undertake to defend the young man at his trial: however he had the courage to relate the whole matter himself to the consul, who not only judged him innocent, but moreover worthy of praise and reward; and accordingly with great ceremony gave him one of those military crowns, or garlands, the usual prize of extraordinary valour. In order to judge of the impression which such an action must have made on the Romans, we should recollect how zealous they were on all occasions to avenge the cause of injured chastity.

650.

In Sicily the prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus, after defeating the slaves in a pitched battle, miscarries in the siege of Triocala. Tryphon ^{The slaves defeated in Sicily.} no longer commanded in that town, having abandoned it in a cowardly manner after the battle. This man died the ensuing year, and was succeeded by a courageous slave, named Athenio, who after having in vain attempted to erect a sovereignty himself, came and served under Tryphon.

The year passed on without hearing any thing of the Cimbri in Gaul. At this time Marius had leisure to employ his troops in digging a great canal, in order to open a new mouth for the river Rhone; the old one being stopped up with heaps of sand and mud, which hindered the transports from coming up to his camp with provisions. This canal was called *Fossa Mariana* (s), and there are still vestiges of ^{Fossa Mariana.} it in a village named from thence *de Foz*. He detaches Sylla against the Marſi, a new swarm of Germans, who are supposed to have come from the banks of the Luppia (t) to join the Teutones; but Sylla made use of no other force than that of eloquence, to prevail on them ^{The Marſi gained over} to come over to the Romans. And perhaps this new kind of glory ^{by Sylla.} raised Marius's jealousy; for it is certain that they parted soon after, and that Sylla served the next year under Catulus (u), who was colleague

(s) It began at the Rhone, a little below the city of Arles, was carried cross the fields of *Crau*, beyond the village of *Foz*, and ended at the tower *de Boue*, or *d'Emboue*: it has now for many ages been stopt up with sand and mud. Some think that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring district bears, is a corruption of *castia Marii*.

(t) The river *Lippe* in Westphalia.

(u) This was Quintus Lutatius Catulus, a famous orator, historian, and poet, and greatly commended by Cicero. He wrote historical memoirs of his consulate after the manner of Xenophon, and employed his leisure hours in poetical performances. Aulus Gellius has preserved one of his epigrams on a youth named Theotinus,

league with Marius in his fourth consulate. It is very extraordinary that this dignity should have been so often conferred successively on the same person. In order to succeed in so tender a point, Marius had recourse to intrigue and artifice. He concerted the matter with the tribune Saturninus, so as to make a shew of refusing a dignity, which he passionately desired. This game was so artfully played, that Saturninus publicly called him a traitor, for resisting the will of the people, and refusing to serve his country. The multitude were duped: but what determined the sensible part of the citizens to join with the rest, was the undoubted intelligence they had received, that the Cimbri and the Gauls had been driven out of Spain by the prætor M. Fulvius, with the assistance of the Celtiberians, and that they were returned to Gaul with a view of joining the Teutones, and pouring their whole force into Italy.

651.

The Romans defeated by the slaves in Sicily.

Athenio, chief of the rebel slaves in Sicily, defeats the prætor C. Servilius; and takes possession of his camp. After this he forms an attack upon Messana, in which he miscarries; he then lays siege to Macella, and makes himself master of that place. The Cimbri and the Teutones separate; the former take a circuit to enter Italy at the extremity of the Eastern Alps, towards the country of the *Carni* (x); the Teutones and the Gauls direct their march by the Western Alps, across Transalpine Liguria. But in order to stop their passage, Marius, that consummate general, had posted himself in a kind of island, which was formed on one side by the sea, on the other by the Rhone, and on the third by a new branch of that river, which, as we have already mentioned, his men had lately dug with immense labour. There he securely waited for a favourable opportunity of coming to an engagement with the enemy. Nothing could force him from thence, neither the complaints of his own soldiers, nor the insults of the barbarians, nor the challenge sent him by a Teutonic officer, a man of a gigantic size, to whom Marius sent for answer, *that if he was in a hurry to die, he might go and hang himself*. He did not quit this strong hold, but to follow the enemy, who after consuming all their provisions were obliged to decamp, in order to draw nearer the Alps. Their army

tinus, which he produces as a master-piece of elegance and politeness; *quibus* (i. e. *versibus*) *mundus, venustus, limatus, pressus, Græcum, Latinumque, nihil quicquam reperiri puto*, Noët. Att. lib. 19. c. 9. I shall transcribe the verses themselves, but doubt very much whether they will answer the idea which those who are judges of Latin poetry, may conceive from the extraordinary commendation of Gellius.

*Aufugit mihi animus, credo, ut solet, ad Theatimum
Devenit, sic est, persegium illud habet.
Quid si non interdixem, ne illunc fugitivum
Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis ejiceret?
Idemus quæsitum verum: ne is si teneamur
Formido, quid ago? da Venas consilium.*

(x) The inhabitants of Carniola.

was so numerous, that they were six whole days in marching by the Roman camp; on which occasion they cried out to the soldiers on the ramparts, by way of derision, *if you have any messages for your wives, we shall quickly deliver them at Rome.* Marius saved them the trouble: he came up with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Aix in Provence, and engaged at first with the Gauls, on the banks of the little river *Cenus (y)*, and obtained a complete victory. Two days after this, he defeated the Teutones with prodigious slaughter. Marius obtained both these victories by the precaution he had taken in drawing up his troops in battalia on the declivity of a hill, with orders not to stir, but there to wait for the enemy: he knew that the natural impatience of those barbarians would not permit them to defer the attack, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground. Historians, least suspected of exaggeration, make the number of the enemy slain, or taken prisoners in those two battles, amount to a hundred thousand. Never had citizen done more important service to the republic than Marius; and never was citizen more gloriously rewarded. The soldiers made him a present of all the booty; the officers crowned him with laurels; the people created him consul a fifth time; and the senate sent messengers to him with the decree, which gave him leave to triumph. It is said that upon reading the decree, he declared he would not accept of a triumph, till he had made his victory complete, by defeating the Cimbri as well as the Teutones; and he was so fortunate as to succeed in this also.

Marius
defeats the
Gauls,
and the
Teutones.

652.

The Cimbri did not come down the Noric (z) Alps till the beginning of this year: as there was a great likelihood of its being remarkable for battles, the augurs gave a scrupulous attention to every extraordinary event, that was usually looked upon as ominous. Among the enormous crimes which the Romans thought necessary to expiate, historians mention the parricide committed by Publicius Malleolus, who killed his mother. Some authors take notice of this parricide as the first that was ever committed in Rome; if so, the punishment of this unnatural crime was invented for him. The criminal was sewn up in a leathern sack, with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and so thrown into the Tiber (a). A new kind of expiation was also practised, which consisted in loading a goat with the public execration, and then driving him out of Rome through the

Punishment
of parricide,

(y) Now the *Arave*.

(z) The Noric Alps were so called from *Noricum*, a part of old Illyricum, bordering upon Bavaria and the country of the Grisons.

(a) Another enormous crime, which had never been heard before this time, was that of mutilation; a slave having mutilated himself, in imitation of the priests of Cybele. But the senate, apprehensive of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from Rome. Diod. Sic. The horror of this crime seems to be intirely lost among the modern Romans.

gate called *Nevia*: a ceremony which seems to have been borrowed from the Jewish religion.

Battle of
Vercellæ, in
which the
Cimbri are
intirely de-
feated by
Marius.

Catulus, who was only proconsul, waited for the Cimbri on the banks of the *Atthesis* (b), intending to dispute their passage: but the Roman soldiers were seized with such a panic, upon the approach of the barbarians, that they fled shamefully before the enemy in spite of their officers, and did not think themselves safe, till Catulus made them repass the Po. Marius is recalled from Gaul, and declared commander in chief of the forces of the republic; upon which, he joins his troops to those of Catulus. Battle in the plain of Vercellæ (c), where the Romans obtain a complete victory over the Cimbri. This plain, and the day of battle, had been fixed upon by Marius, in consequence of a challenge for that purpose from the enemy; hence the two armies were equal in this respect, only the consul had the precaution to draw up his troops in such a manner, that their backs were turned to the south. The sun shining at noon with violent heat, had such an effect upon those barbarians, accustomed to the northern snows, that they were scarce able to hold up their bucklers to defend their faces; so that they were soon defeated with a most terrible slaughter: historians reckon the number of slain to have been a hundred and twenty thousand, and that of prisoners sixty thousand. The Romans were obliged to fight a new battle when they came to the enemy's camp: here the women were inclosed in a kind of entrenchment formed by carts and waggons, from whence they discharged showers of darts against friends and foes with equal fury; and upon being refused such conditions as became their sex, they either died fighting desperately, or laid violent hands on themselves. Thus the formidable nation of the Cimbri, who seemed ready to swallow up all Italy, were almost intirely destroyed by the loss of a single battle.

Affairs would in all probability have taken a very different turn in regard to those people, had they marched directly to Rome after the flight of Catulus. Florus pretends, that they would have made themselves masters of that capital with as much ease as the *Senones* after the battle of *Allia*. What hindered them, was the promise they had given the *Teutones*, not to attack Rome, till they had joined them in Italy. They were ignorant of the defeat of the latter till a few days before the battle of *Vercellæ*, when upon sending their ambassadors to Marius, with offers to lay down their arms, if he would assign lands in Italy to them and their brothers (for thus they called the *Teutones*) Marius gave an insulting answer; *as for your brothers, you need not trouble your heads about them; they are possessed of lands,*

(b) Now the *Adige*; it riseth in the county of Tyrol, passeth by Trent, and running through Verona, emptieth itself into the Adriatic.

(c) A city of Piedmont, still called *Vercelli*, situate on the river *Sessis*, or *Sessitis*, near the *Campi Raudii*, where the above battle was fought.

which I have assigned them; and those lands they shall possess for ever. As a proof of what he had been saying, he shewed them the chiefs of the Teutonic army in chains.

At Rome the people gave the whole honour of the battle of Ver-cellæ to Marius, though it was due to Catulus and Sylla, if we can credit the authorities quoted by Plutarch. Marius and Catulus triumphed together; but the people made a great difference in their demonstrations of respect to those generals: they offered up libations to Marius as to a deity, and gave him the glorious title of *third founder of Rome*; as formerly that of *second founder* was conferred on Camillus, after his victory over the Gauls. Catulus erects a temple to *the fortune of this day*; and Marius builds another to *Honour and Virtue*, pursuant to a vow each of them had made in the last battle. The contempt which Marius had for the polite arts, was visible on this occasion: he caused the abovementioned temple to be built by a Roman architect, of common stone, and without any ornament: besides, he appeared only for form sake at the public games, with which he was obliged to entertain the people the day of the dedication of his temple; and then he immediately withdrew.

Aquilius, the colleague of Marius in his present consulate, was intrusted with the conduct of the war in Sicily, which had been exposed to the depredations of rebellious slaves ever since the defeat of the prætor Servilius. He determined at length this war so shameful to the Roman name by a single combat with Athenio, whom he laid dead on the ground, after he had been wounded himself in the head. Out of that great multitude of slaves, who had taken up arms, there remained only a thousand, who surrendered themselves by composition along with Satyrius their commander: the consul gradually destroyed all the rest, either by famine or the sword. It is said that the Romans lost a million of slaves in this and the preceding war.

Marius obtains a sixth consulate, by money, and by the intrigues of that same L. Apuleius Saturninus, who had served him so well on the like occasion two years before. The consul, out of gratitude, enters into a stricter connexion with Saturninus than ever, and lends him a hand to assume a second tribunate by violence. Saturninus, by means of Marius's soldiers, causes A. Nonnius one of the tribunes for the following year to be assassinated, and gets himself elected in his stead at a tumultuous assembly.

653.

Saturninus insults the ambassadors of Mithridates king of Pontus, and being called to an account is acquitted by the senate through fear of the people.

These violent proceedings plainly shewed the melancholy situation of the republic, oppressed by a perpetual consul, who had taken care to get himself a colleague to his own mind, one Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a person of weak abilities, especially if compared to such a man as Marius. Ever since the people had begun to split themselves into fac-tions.

The agrarian law revived.

Metellus banished.

Marius's double dealings.

Rebellion of Saturninus.

tions, and to sell their suffrages, the elections were all decided at Rome by bribery, or open force : the *forum* was now a market-place, where public offices were sold to the highest bidder ; and now a field of battle, where the strongest was sure to obtain the victory. Saturninus was all powerful at those meetings ; among other things, he undertook to revive the agrarian law, ordaining the distribution of lands, and the settling of several colonies : he carried his point by means of the country tribes, who being more particularly concerned in that law, came to blows with those of the city, and drove them out of the forum. So little did Saturninus disguise his sentiments, that when the nobles, in order to break up the assembly, told him, *that they heard it thunder (d)*, which, according to law, ought to suspend all proceedings for that day, he answered coolly, *well, if it thunders now, it will be a storm presently, unless you are quiet* ; and indeed, the affair ended at last in a storm of blows. Metellus Numidicus is condemned to banishment at the instigation of the factious leaders, for having refused to swear to the observance of the agrarian law ; which was a snare laid by his enemies, knowing that he was a man of that character, and not to approve of a law obtained by violence. All this was managed by a kind of triumvirate, viz. by Marius, who, as hath been already mentioned, had quarrelled with him in Numidia ; by Saturninus, whom he had stigmatized when censor, in 651 ; and by Servilius Glaucia, who was in the same case. This Glaucia stood for the consulate of the following year ; but as he had a competitor of far superior merit in Memmius, Saturninus to get rid of him caused him to be assassinated, and then broke out into open rebellion.

This last step ruined him. The senate, at an extraordinary meeting, as in times of the greatest danger, passed one of those decrees, which gave the consuls unlimited power to do whatever they judged proper for the public welfare. Marius being obliged to abandon his old friends, besieges the capitol, whither they had retired with their adherents : they surrender to him upon promise of saving their lives. Accordingly he would have saved them ; but the people in their fury fell upon the rebels, and tore them in pieces. All the acts of Saturninus's tribunate were repealed, except the sentence pronounced against Metellus ; but Marius's faction, and the tribune P. Furius, whom Metellus during his censorial office had deprived of the equestrian rank, obstinately opposed his recall.

(d) Thunder was one of the several sorts of auguries mentioned by authors ; as whether it came from the right, or the left ; whether the number of strokes were even or odd. In taking this augury, the observer stood upon a tower, with his head covered, in a gown peculiar to his office, called *læna*, and turning his face towards the east, marked out the heavens into four *templa*, or quarters, with a short straight rod, called *lituus*, only a little turning at one end. Some thunders were called *bruta fulmina*, which portended nothing ; and others *fatidica*, which were ominous ; but none were such, unless confirmed by another of the same sort.

654.

Furius was accused before the comitia by Canuleius, one of his successors, of such a number of crimes, that the people killed him upon the spot, without waiting to hear his defence. Metellus is also recalled from exile. Metellus recalled.

The tribune Sex. Titius is condemned to banishment, because a portrait of the seditious Saturninus had been found in his house: besides he was grown odious to all well-meaning citizens, in consequence of his attempting to revive the Gracchian law, the source of so many troubles. Titius was a pretty good speaker, but he was foiled by the celebrated M. Antonius.

655.

The eloquence of this orator triumphed still more gloriously in the affair of Manius Aquilius, who was accused, and even convicted of having plundered the Sicilians after his victory over the rebel slaves. His cause seemed the more desperate, as he had neglected to solicit the judges, and to appear before them in a mourning habit, such as the accused were accustomed to wear, in order to excite compassion. This very circumstance Antonius most artfully laid hold of, by representing his client as a man superior to all fear: he then put the people in mind of his expeditions against the enemies of his country, of the honourable wounds he had received in different engagements, and tearing open Manius's gown, he shewed to the whole assembly the scars with which the body of that brave general was covered. Such oratory was irresistible; even the rough soldier Marius, who sat as one of the judges, was moved to that degree as to shed a few tears: in short Aquilius was acquitted. This is a very remarkable fact, as it plainly shews, according to M. Rollin's observation, "that the eloquence of the bar among the Romans was very different from ours; and that if our pleading is more nervous in arguments and proofs, theirs by taking bolder flights had more of the sublime." Soon after this trial, Marius went into Asia, to avoid being witness to the acclamations with which Metellus was received at Rome: the people treated him in the same manner as at his return from Numidia, so that he made a kind of triumphant entry. Eloquent defence of Aquilius made by M. Antonius.

The consul Didius is sent to *Hither Spain* against the Celtiberians, who had taken up arms again since the departure of the Cimbri. Didius was five years employed in quieting this province; at which time Sertorius, whom we shall often have occasion to mention, served under him in the degree of legionary tribune, which he owed intirely to his valour, for he was a man of no family: and now he had leisure enough to distinguish himself by further exploits. The consul Didius sent to Spain. Sertorius served under him.

656.

Marcus Antonius is created censor with L. Valerius Flaccus. They strike M. Duronius out of the list of senators, for having abused his authority,

authority, when tribune of the people the preceding year, by procuring the repeal of a law, which regulated the expence of private tables. Duronius got it repealed, as *partaking of the rust of antiquity*.

Human
victims
forbid,

Human victims are forbid by order of the senate. Dio pretends, that Cæsar afterwards revived this murdering practice; and Pliny relates, that even in his time several of those horrid sacrifices were exhibited, to the shame of humanity.

657.

Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica (*e*), having bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, they lay a small tribute on the inhabitants, and grant them their liberty. Cyrenaica had been formerly made a part of the kingdom of Egypt; but it was dismembered from it by Ptolemy Physcon, in favour of Apion his natural son. The Romans afterwards reduced it to a province, under the administration of a prætor.

658.

A law made at the motion of the consuls Licinius Crassus and Mucius Scævola, to put a stop to the usurpation of the right of Roman citizenship. It ordained an inquiry to be made against those who falsely pretended to be Roman citizens; and that even such as were born at Rome of foreign parents, should be sent to their respective countries. This law, though just and reasonable, was one of the principal causes of the *fatal war of the allies*, which broke out three years after. The consul Scævola distinguished his prætorship by the vigorous stand he made against the extortions of the publicans in his province of Asia.

659.

Defence of
Norbanus,

We meet with nothing remarkable this year, except the famous trial of Norbanus. This man, who had been formerly tribune of the people, was accused by P. Sulpicius Rufus, a young orator of great reputation, of having incurred the guilt of high treason, by raising a sedition in the comitia: the fact was proved; and among other witnesses, the ancient prince of the senate, M. Æmilius Scaurus, shewed the marks of a cut which he had received on the arm with a stone. Upon this occasion M. Rollin observes, that the Roman judges looked upon themselves rather as arbiters of life and death, than as ministers of the law: and this reflexion seems to be confirmed by the particulars which Marcus Antonius himself gives of his pleading, in *Tully de Oratore*: “ I begged of the judges to take into consideration

(*e*) A country of Africa, betwixt Marmarica and the port of Sabia, now called *Barca*. The capital was *Cyrene*, or *Cyrenæ*, now *Cairoan*, one of the five which made the *Pentapolis*. This place abounded with *benzoin*, whence Catullus called it, *Laser-pliiferas Cyrenas*.

“ my age, the public employments with which I had been honoured,
 “ the services which perhaps I had done to the republic, and lastly,
 “ the sincere and deep concern with which they saw me affected.”
 What should we think, says M. Rollin, of a council, who for want of
 proofs and arguments, should plead his age, his services, and his
 sorrow, to prejudice the judges in favour of his client? But Marcus
 Antonius proceeds; and what he says further, seems to corroborate
 this reflection. “ I begged they would not refuse me a favour, which
 “ was the first I ever asked of them, &c.” No doubt but this orator
 was a person of too much sense, to ask a favour of men that could not
 grant it, or at least that did not think they had a right to grant it.

Plutarch observes, that this was the first time that persons of
 the first nobility were admitted into the college of tribunes; among
 whom at this time were to be seen the names of Sextius, Marcellus,
 Junius Brutus, in a word, citizens of the first distinction.

660.

Sylla is raised to the prætorship, which had been refused him the
 preceding year, for no other motive, than because the people were
 willing he should previously discharge the office of ædile, in hopes
 that by means of his connexions with Bocchus king of Mauri-
 tania, he would entertain them with some African wild beasts
 at the public games. If this was their view, they had reason to
 be satisfied. Sylla made them ample amends during his prætorship,
 when he entertained the circus with a combat between a hundred lions,
 and some Mauritanian hunters used to this kind of fighting. Cæsar
 Strabo, a person commended by Cicero for his vein of pleasantry,
 pretended that Sylla had bought the prætorship; and he taxed him
 with it very agreeably one day, when Sylla threatened to let him feel
 the weight of his office: *you say right*, answered he with a smile, *your*
office is really yours, since you purchased it.

Sylla made
 prætor.

661.

Sylla, after spending the first year of his prætorship in Rome,
 pursuant to custom, was named to the government of the province of
 Asia; and had the glorious commission of restoring Ariobarzanes to
 the throne of Cappadocia, to which he had been elected by that
 nation, with the consent of the Romans. The famous Mithridates,
 king of Pontus, a prince more known in story for his cruelty, than
 even for his great exploits, had destroyed all the princes of the royal
 family of Cappadocia, either by assassination or poison, and placed a
 son of his own upon the throne, under the guardianship of Gordius
 one of his courtiers. Against this Gordius, Sylla was obliged to fight;
 and one single battle determined the affair. Before he left Asia, he
 received an embassy from the king of Parthia, who desired to conclude
 an alliance with the republic. On this occasion he behaved with such
 state, and at the same time with so noble an air, that one of the
 standers by could not help saying: *either this man is at present, or*
soon will be, lord of the world.

Sylla named
 to the go-
 vernment of
 Asia.

Rutilius
unjustly
banished.

Rutilius, a consular person, is unjustly accused of extortion. It is proper here to observe, that the knights were still possessed of the judiciary power at Rome: and of all the injustices ever laid to their charge, this was one of the most shocking; for they really could reproach Rutilius with no other crime than his having opposed, in conjunction with Mutius Scævola, the exactions of their brethren the publicans. Among his accusers was Apicius, a person most infamous for gluttony. Rutilius weathered the storm like a man superior to fortune, and who despised alike her favours and frowns. At that time there were several in Rome, who made profession of philosophy; but the number of those who acted up to their profession, was very inconsiderable. Rutilius was one of this number: he retired to Asia, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer; and it is to be presumed that in this retirement he wrote his Roman history in Greek, which is lost, as well as the memoirs of his life. Some years after he refused to return to Rome, when the people recalled him.

The censors Lucius Licinius Crassus, and Cneus Domitius Ænobarbus forbid the Latin rhetors to follow their profession. Crassus himself gives the reason of this decree in Cicero's treatise de Oratore, where he takes notice, "that those masters only taught their disciples
" to speak with too much liberty and freedom, which ought always
" to be avoided, even when we have the best things in the world to
" say." The Latin rhetors came into vogue again, as had been the case at the time we have been now mentioning, in regard to the Greek rhetors, who had been formerly expelled from Rome.

662.

The social
war breaks
out.
Occasioned
by the
schemes of
Drusus tri-
bune of the
people.

Beginning of the social war, or the war of the allies, which is sometimes called also the Marston war, because the Marston had a principal share in it. Their discontent was occasioned, though undesignedly, by the promise which the young tribune Livius Drusus had given, of admitting them all to the full privilege of Roman citizenship; a promise which it was not in his power to observe. The same tribune had formed several other schemes, which proved ineffectual: but his principal design was to restore to the senators the judiciary power, which had been conferred on the knights; or at least to share it between those two orders. With the same view he had, in concert with the senate, endeavoured to render himself agreeable, not only to the people, by proposing to give away a certain quantity of corn among the poor, and to make a new distribution of lands; but also to the allies, by promising to invest them with the privileges of Roman citizens. The whole succeeded, except the last article. Most of the citizens pretended it would be striking at their privileges, if they were obliged to extend them to such a multitude of allies. The latter maintained that they asked nothing but what was just and right, in desiring to be admitted to the right of suffrage, and to have a share in the government of a state which they had helped to aggrandize. At length they had recourse to arms; and Pompeius Silo, one of the lead-
ing

ing men among the Marfi, advances towards Rome, at the head of ten thousand men. Drusus being considered as the author of all these troubles, is assassinated. There is reason to believe that he had no bad intention, were we to have no other foundation than his generous behaviour to the consul Philippus, his bitterest enemy, to whom he sent notice of the plot which the allies had formed, to murder him and his colleague during the ceremony of the *Feria Latina*. Philippus requited him very ill for that service, being strongly suspected of having had a share, together with the senator Q. Servilius Cæpio and the tribune Q. Varus, in the murder of Drusus. He gets all Drusus's laws repealed by the senate, as having been passed inauspiciously. The knights by this method having recovered the judiciary power, summon the principal senators before their tribunal, under pretence that they encouraged the rebellion of the allies. The chief persons involved in this accusation, are Cotta nephew to Rutilius; Scaurus prince of the senate; and Marcus Antonius the orator. Cotta went into banishment of his own accord, Scaurus extricated himself out of danger by his firmness, and Marcus Antonius by his eloquence. The orator Crassus was dead when these troubles first broke out.

The allies erect themselves into a republic, and pitch upon *Corfinium*, a town in the country of the Peligni, for their capital. There they establish a senate, and choose two consuls, and two prætors who were to command the troops under the consuls.

The allies erect themselves into a republic.

663.

In order to quell the revolted provinces, Rome was obliged to increase the number of her generals. The seat of the rebellion was chiefly in Samnium, and in the country of the Marfi: the consul Rutilius was sent against the former, and his colleague, L. Julius, against the latter. Several excellent generals were appointed under them, with a power of commanding in chief occasionally, like proconsuls; of which number were Marius and Sylla.

Rutilius comes to an engagement with the enemy, contrary to the opinion of Marius; but is defeated, and killed. Cæpio, one of his lieutenants, meets with the same fate soon after. The command of these shattered armies was given to Marius, who did nothing considerable: whether it was owing to prudence, or to the natural cautiousness of old age, for he was now sixty eight, he continued a long time in his entrenchments, in the presence of the enemy, who insulted him with impunity. Pompeius Silo, one of their consuls, coming to challenge him to fight, cried out aloud, *If you are a great general, Marius, why don't you fight?* All the answer he made, was; *but if you are a great general, why don't you compel me to fight?* Fortune envied him the only opportunity he had to distinguish himself; for after he had defeated the Marrucini, who attacked him in his camp, Sylla passing accidentally that way, fell upon the runaways, cut them in pieces, and reaped almost the whole glory of the day. Marius resigns his command, under pretence of illness.

Considerable advantages gained by the allies.

The Marrucini defeated by Marius and Sylla.

The consul
L. Julius
victorious in
Samnium.

In Samnium, the consul L. Julius obtained a signal victory, though preceded and followed by considerable losses. The magistrates of Rome had laid aside the badges and ornaments of their dignity, upon hearing the news of Rutilius' defeat, according to the custom observed in times of the heaviest calamities; and did not resume them till after the news of another victory, obtained by Cn. Pompeius, who commanded in Picenum. How fatal would it have been to Rome, had the allies continued to be victorious! No doubt but such a number of nations, subject to her dominion, would have embraced the opportunity of throwing off the yoke; and then she would have been in much the same condition, as when she first undertook the conquest of Italy.

The right
of Roman
citizenship
granted to
the faithful
allies.

The right of Roman citizenship is granted to the several nations that continued faithful to their alliance. This was an excellent method to bind them to their duty, and to reclaim the rest: but why did not the republic begin with it?

Gallant
behaviour of
Sertorius.

Sertorius, though he had as yet been invested with no command in this war, still acquired a great deal of honour in it. He was quaestor in Cisalpine Gaul; but as soon as he fulfilled his commission, his courage led him to the seat of war, where he was wounded and lost an eye: but so far from complaining of this accident, he gloried in it as a singular happiness; *I shall ever, said he, wear a proof of my courage, more conspicuous by far than crowns and laurels.*

664.

The Marfi
defeated.

This as well as the preceding year, was productive of a great number of very bloody battles: for we scarce meet with a more destructive and more cruel war in the Roman history. The particulars most worthy of our attention are the expeditions of the two consuls, and those of Sylla. The consuls successively defeat the Marfi. Porcius was killed in one of those engagements, by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, by young Marius, in revenge for the affront which the consul had offered his father, in boasting that Marius had not performed greater exploits than himself. The preceding year Cn. Pompeius, then only lieutenant general, had laid siege to the city of Asculum, which the Romans were very desirous of chastising, because it was the first that committed hostilities. This year he appeared before it again, but could not take the place, till he destroyed an army of sixty

An army of
Marfi
destroyed.

thousand Marfi, who had marched to relieve it. About the same time Sylla made himself master of Bovianum, a strong city, where the Samnites held their general assembly. With this exploit he finished the most glorious, or perhaps the most fortunate campaign he had made yet; for he himself allowed that fortune had always a greater share in his successes, than military skill: in short, he loved to hear himself called the *fortunate Sylla*. Among the several exploits which he performed this year, we must reckon the taking a great number of important towns, the reduction of the Hirpini, and two considerable victories over the Samnites.

Great ad-
vantages ob-
tained by
Sylla over
the allies.

At

At Rome, A. Sempronius Asellio, the *prætor Urbanus*, is murdered in the forum at noon day by a body of usurers, for endeavouring to put a stop to their exactions. This horrid crime escaped unpunished, as was but too much the custom of those iniquitous times. It is probable, that upon this occasion (g) the tribune M. Plautius Sylvanus got the law passed, *de vi publica*. By another law of the same tribune's proposing, the senators recovered possession at length of part of the judiciary power: it was enacted, that each tribe should chuse every year fifteen citizens, indifferently out of the order of senators, knights, or common people, to take cognizance of civil causes. The censors, L. Julius Cæsar, consul of the preceding year, and P. Crassus, formed eight new tribes out of the allies, who had received the right of citizenship: at the same time they made a regulation, that these new tribes should not be admitted to give their suffrage, till the ancient tribes had voted; so that the latter had still intirely the advantage. It is obvious that this plan was borrowed from that of Servius Tullius in distributing the centuries.

The law *de vi publica*.

Cn. Pompeius was honoured with a triumph, a favour never yet granted to generals, who had only recovered what before belonged to the republic. Sylla is chosen consul for the ensuing year, notwithstanding the intrigues of Marius.

665.

These two men seemed to have been born enemies to each other, so different were their temper and disposition, though they had the same abilities and passion for war. Marius, bred among plowmen and shepherds, by the roughness of his manners betrayed the meanness of his education: his aukward air, his disagreeable voice, his fierce looks, his haughty address, had something in them extremely forbidding. Sylla, on the other hand, was born of noble parents, and had received an excellent education, so that all his actions were stamped with an air of urbanity. The former was violent and overbearing, and seemed to bid defiance to the whole world. The latter with all his vices had a winning deportment, and by studying to please, gained the affections of the people; till he raised himself to the highest pitch of fortune. Marius con-

Civil war between Marius and Sylla. Characters of Marius and Sylla.

(g) This is a mistake of our author, the *lex Plautia* or *Plotia de vi* was made by P. Plautius, tribune of the people in the year 675, in the consulate of Catulus and Lepidus. Upon the death of Sylla in that very year, Lepidus, being of the Marian faction, attempted to set aside the laws of Sylla, and was opposed by Catulus, of the opposite party. This occasioned great disturbances in the city, and Lepidus having been expelled from thence, and afterwards killed in Sardinia, Catulus joined with Plautius in passing this law. It was designed against those who attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence to the magistrates, or appeared armed in public upon any ill design, or forcibly expelled any person from his lawful possession. The punishment assigned to the convicted, was *aquæ & ignis interdictio*. Suet. in Julio, Cic. pro Milone, Sigon. de Judiciis.

traded a friendship with the tribune P. Sulpicius, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed against Mithridates, though the senate had conferred it on Sylla. The social war was in its decline, and may be said to have been absolutely put an end to by the death of Pompeius Silo, who had been the very soul of it: he was defeated and taken prisoner by the lieutenant general Cæcilius Pius.

The people
appoint Ma-
rius to com-
mand in
Asia.

Sylla
marches to
Rome.

The first step the tribune Sulpicius took, was to admit all the allies, that had been honoured with the right of Roman citizenship, into the ancient five and thirty tribes. This privilege had been granted to the allies as fast as they laid down their arms, so that the new comers were considerably more numerous than the ancient citizens. Sulpicius therefore was become absolute master of the suffrages (a), and found no difficulty in obtaining what he asked for Marius. Sylla was encamped before Nola, in Campania, when hearing of the indignity offered him, he assembles his troops, reminds them of the victories they had obtained under his command, sets before their eyes the rich spoils they should gain in the war with Mithridates, and exaggerates the disgraceful campaign of Marius, that very Marius whom, contrary to all justice, Sulpicius wanted to make their commander. Immediately a general shout spreads through the whole army, *let us go to Rome, and avenge the cause of oppressed liberty*. The trumpet sounds, the troops march towards Rome with colours flying; and after a faint resistance from Marius's adherents, they make themselves masters of the capitol. The next day Sylla assembles the comitia, and obliges them to pass a decree, importing, "that Sulpicius's laws should be declared void and null; "that henceforward no law should be proposed by the tribunes, till it "had been approved by the senate; and that the comitia, in the field "of Mars, should not for the future be held by tribes, but by cen- "turies." He obtains a decree of the senate, proscribing the two Marius's, father and son, the tribune Sulpicius, and nine other senators of the same party. So far there is no doubt but the consul acted justly, having had recourse to arms, in order to check the insolence of faction, and to establish a reformation, which the republic greatly wanted. The outrages of the tribunes amounted to open tyranny: Sulpicius had been lately seen to domineer in the forum at the head of a band of three thousand pensioners; and he had deposed the consul Quintus Pom-

(a) During these disturbances, Sylla was recalled from the camp before Nola to restrain the insolence of Sulpicius; and the consuls having assembled the senate in the temple of Castor, the furious tribune let loose a band of ruffians upon them, which obliged the conscript fathers to make their escape. Sylla being closely pursued, took shelter in Marius's house, who, though naturally cruel and revengeful, did not chuse to imbrue his hands in the blood of a consul who had taken refuge in his house. He therefore let him escape by a back door; after which Sylla repaired in all haste to his camp near Nola.

peius, Sylla's colleague. But he soon met with his deserts; for having been betrayed by one of his slaves, his head was brought to Rome, and fixed upon a stake, over against the rostra, a fatal omen of the following proscription. Marius, the son, escaped by sea to Africa. His father's adventures are too well known to need a long description. It will suffice to mention, that after having long wandered about the country, abandoned by his friends, stripped of every thing, and oppressed with hunger, he was discovered and seized by Sylla's soldiers, in the marshes of *Minturnæ*, where he had hid himself up to the chin in water: thence he was removed to *Minturnæ*, and condemned to be beheaded in prison; but his presence and speech disarmed the executioner. The *Minturnienses*, struck with this adventure, furnished him with a small vessel to carry him over to Africa, where he joined his son near the ruins of Carthage. It was some consolation to him, to contemplate the remains of that once formidable city, which had undergone, like himself, the most cruel vicissitudes of fortune; but he was soon obliged to quit this melancholy retreat. On the one hand, the prætor of Utica; and on the other, Mandrestal, an African prince, who, with the consent of the Romans, reigned over part of Numidia; were determined to sacrifice the two Marius's to Sylla and the senate. But they embarked just at the time that a troop of horse were going to seize them, and spent the winter in a small island in the neighbourhood of Africa (b).

Flight and adventures of Marius.

Sylla's example, in rendering the soldiers too strongly attached to his person, was of dangerous consequence. Nothing was more common, than to hear people say, *the troops of such or such a general*; but there was no longer any mention made of the troops of the republic.

The prætor, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, causes his soldiers to assassinate the consul Q. Pompeius, who was come to succeed him in the command of the army.

666.

Cinna, one of the new consuls, was entirely devoted to the popular faction; but his colleague, Cn. Octavius, held with the senate; so that it was natural to expect new disturbances between them. The former undertook to revive the tribune Sulpicius's law, for putting the allies upon a level with the ancient citizens. On this occasion, a violent sedition was raised in the *Campus Martius*, and a battle ensued, in which ten thousand of the new citizens were killed, and the rest were obliged to abandon the city, together with the consul Cinna. The senate pass a decree, by which he is divested of his consular dignity, and L. Cornelius Merula is appointed to succeed him. Cinna has recourse to the allies, and in a short time raises an army of thirty legions, allies

Cinna is chosen consul, and raises new disturbances.

(b) The island of *Circina*, which lay near the little *Syrus*, and is now known by the name of *Cicarra*.

and

and Roman malecontents; which enabled him to recall Marius and the other exiles. Sertorius, who had followed the fortune of Cinna, less out of affection to him, than hatred to Sylla, disapproved of this step; for he looked upon Marius, though old and proscribed, as a person whose revengeful temper was to be dreaded. Rome is blocked up by Cinna, in conjunction with Marius, Papirius Carbo, and Sertorius, each of whom commanded a separate corps. The latter begins hostilities against Cn. Pompeius Strabo, under the walls of Rome; on which occasion two brothers meeting in the heat of the action, one kills the other without knowing him (c). Cinna undertakes to get Pompeius Strabo assassinated; but the prudence and valour of young Pompey saved his father's life. Heaven punished the crimes of Pompeius Strabo in a more signal manner: a terrible plague carried off eleven thousand of his men in a very short time; and the general himself was killed with lightning.

Cinna and
Marius enter
Rome.

Marius's
cruelty.

The senate having been reduced by famine and desertion to treat with Cinna, and to acknowledge him as consul, he entered Rome in a triumphant manner, at the head of his army. Marius stopped at the gate, saying with a sarcastical tone, *that it did not become a banished man to return to Rome without being recalled*. Cinna marched directly to the forum, assembled the people, and made them pass a decree for that purpose. Marius entering the city, gave orders for murdering all those who came to salute him, and to whom he did not return the civility (a). The most illustrious senators were massacred by the command of this cruel old man; their houses were plundered, and their estates confiscated. His guards (e) were about six thousand of the most detestable banditti in Italy, who carried their lust, cruelty, and avarice, to such excess, that at length Cinna and Sertorius took a resolution to exterminate them; and accordingly they were surprized in their quarters in the night, and all destroyed.

(c) Hearing the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, but finding him ready to expire, he killed himself with the sword, which was yet stained with the blood of his brother. This moving accident ought to have given the Romans a distaste for civil wars, but faction and party had hardened their hearts.

(d) On this occasion Plutarch observes that the most sacred ties of friendship and hospitality were not proof against treachery: yet in that general defection, the fidelity of the slaves of Cornutus deserves to be recorded. Cornutus had retired to his country house, and his slaves observing a company of soldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their master in the most private manner; then taking up the body of a person, whom the tyrant's officers had just murdered, they carried it to the house, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and shewed it in that condition to the soldiers, pretending it was the body of their master. They buried it soon after with great pomp and solemnity, and by this innocent artifice, saved their master Cornutus, and conveyed him into Gaul.

(e) Plutarch calls them *Bardiæans*, a name which has greatly puzzled the commentators; but perhaps it may be a fault in the text, and instead of *Bardiæans*, the abovementioned Greek author wrote *Magiæans*, that is the *Marians*, or life-guard of Marius.

Among

Among the victims, whom Marius sacrificed to his fury, we reckon chiefly Marcus Antonius, who drew tears even from his assassins; the senator P. Crassus, who killed himself, after seeing one of his two sons murdered in his own presence; Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphed over the Cimbri along with Marius; and Cornelius Merula, who had been substituted as consul in the room of Cinna, and who had abdicated so generously, when the senate entered into a treaty with the tyrant. Merula being high priest of Jupiter, went to the temple of that god, and ordering his veins to be opened, died in his pontifical chair, in which no Roman sat till seventy seven years after his decease. The heads of the senators still reeking with blood, were stuck up before the rostra, where, as an ancient author expresses it, they continued to form a kind of dumb senate, who nevertheless demanded vengeance. Cinna on the other hand exercised his cruelty on his colleague Octavius, whom he caused to be beheaded; and of his own authority he named himself and Marius consuls for the following year.

Proscrip-
tions, mur-
ders, &c.

667.

At length death put an end to the cruelty of this bloody tyrant, in the fifteenth or sixteenth day of his consulate: he was carried off by a dis-temper, which he had brought upon himself by excessive drinking, to stifle the remorse of conscience (e). His crimes may be said to have deserved all the rigour with which fortune persecuted him in the latter end of his days: yet if we recollect the glorious services he had done his country, it must be allowed that he merited some of the favours, which that goddess had heaped upon him in the former part of his life. Though he had nothing amiable in his character, he was adored by the common people, because he courted their favour, in order to serve his own ambition. Without any other good quality than that of an excellent commander, he had long figured as the greatest man in Rome: this was owing to the circumstances of the times, when his country, threatened by an inundation of barbarians, was obliged to place him at the head of her armies; and men always appear great in proportion to their services. The roughness of his manners was not the consequence of reflection or reason, but of the meanness of his education. He was of a sanguinary disposition, which made him the scourge of humanity; and when his country had no more enemies, he grew formidable to his fellow citizens. In short, he was out of his sphere, when he had done fighting with the Cimbri and the Teutones, against whom he was well matched.

His cha-
racter.

The hopes of the nobility, and of the few remaining senators, were all now centered in Sylla; but he was at a great distance from Rome, while these bloody scenes were transacting. He had embarked for the East the beginning of the preceding year, at the head of five legions,

Beginning
of the Mi-
the date
war.

(e) A remedy scarce known in these days, but too common in ours.

and with the title of proconsul: there he found the affairs of the republic in a very bad situation. Mithridates had seized the opportunity of the social war, to carry on his conquests in Asia: he not only aimed at Cappadocia, which had been given by the Romans to Ariobarzanes, but likewise at Bithynia, where Nicomedes, the grandson of Prusias, swayed the sceptre under the protection of the republic. The commissioners sent by the Romans to examine into affairs on the spot, did but increase the evil by their unseasonable pride; so that the two nations came to an open rupture. Mithridates after assisting his son-in-law Tigranes king of Armenia, to repossess himself of Cappadocia, appeareth on the borders of Bithynia, at the head of an army of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse.

Mithridates
dethrones
Nicomedes. Nicomedes is defeated, and dethroned; and it was only a day's work for Mithridates to beat all the little detachments, which the

General
massacre of
the Romans. Roman commissioners, and L. Cassius proconsul of the province of Pergamus, had under their command in different places. The Asiatic provinces, subject to the republic, soon submitted to the king of Pontus; and this conquest was followed by a general massacre of all the Romans in those parts, to the number of upwards of fourscore thousand. Manius Aquilius, a consular, and chief of the Roman

commissioner, paid very dear for his insolent behaviour to Mithridates. This proud conqueror led him about the country upon an ass, and obliged him, by blows and whipping, to proclaim aloud, *that he was Aquilius, heretofore Roman consul*. At length, he brought him to Pergamus, where he ordered melted gold to be poured down his throat, to revenge, as he said, the wrongs which the Pergamenians had sustained by the avarice of the Romans. The universal defection that followed, and the fury of this general massacre, plainly shew how greatly the people were tired of the Roman yoke. Of all the towns in Asia, none but Magnesia and Rhodes continued faithful to the republic. Mithridates came in person to lay siege to Rhodes, and was obliged to raise it. But he was soon indemnified on the side of Greece, a great number of the petty states of that country having submitted to Archelaus, one of his generals; and among the rest, the famous city of Athens, seduced by the declamations of one Aristio a sophist.

Athens
revolted.

Sylla lays
siege to
Athens.

This was the first place that Sylla attacked. Archelaus, though far superior in numbers, could not maintain his ground against the Roman legions. Sylla drove this general before him, and laid siege to Athens and the harbour of Piræum, which formed as it were a separate town of considerable strength. But the year being expired, and money beginning to fail in the Roman camp, Sylla, ever fruitful of expedients, had recourse to one of a very extraordinary nature. This was to order all the rich utensils of gold and silver in the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, of Apollo at Delphi, and of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, to be delivered up to him by way of loan: after they had been melted down, and converted into money, he said by way of jest; *that he was confident of victory, since the gods themselves had undertaken to pay his troops*. Neither did he spare the famous

famous walks of the academy and the Lyceum ; since he ordered the trees to be felled for the use of military machines. It would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the several means by which he reduced Athens and the Piræum ; the chief were valour and perseverance. Yet it must be allowed, that he was much indebted to the ingenious contrivance of two of the inhabitants, with whom he kept a secret correspondence, and who gave him notice of every thing that passed in the town, by means of leaden balls which they flung into his camp with a sling. Athens at length was taken by storm, and plundered, and the inhabitants were all put to the sword : the slaughter was so great, that according to the accounts of historians, the market-place was like a pool of blood, which rose so high as even to overflow the suburbs. The city was preserved out of respect to the muses, whose seat it had been, as it afterwards continued, for many ages. Aristio, who during the siege had behaved in the most tyrannical manner, was almost the only person that escaped from the massacre : he retired to the castle, where the want of water obliged him to surrender. Sylla commanded him to be put to death with all his tyrannical accomplices ; and Archelaus being obliged soon after to evacuate the Piræum, the proconsul ordered it to be set on fire.

Athens
taken by
storm, and
plundered.

Sylla marches out of Attica towards Boeotia to meet Mithridates's generals, who having made forced marches in hopes to come time enough to raise the siege of Athens, at length joined Archelaus. Battle of Charonea. Sylla had concerted his measures so well, that he obliged the enemy to fight upon a rocky ground, where their numerous cavalry, and chariots armed with scythes, in which their chief force consisted, could be of no use : the slaughter was terrible on the field of battle, but still more so in their camp, where the legionaries entered pell-mell with the flying enemy. It is said, that on those two occasions, a hundred and ten thousand of the enemy were killed, and only twelve on the side of the Romans ; a most amazing instance of Sylla's felicity, if the account however be not exaggerated. Mithridates sends another army into Greece, under the command of Dorylaeus ; and Archelaus joins the latter with ten thousand men, whom he had saved after the battle of Charonea. Battle of Orchomenus. This time the enemy had the whole advantage of the ground : the plain of Orchomenus, where the two armies engaged, was smooth and level, consequently well adapted for the evolutions of the enemy's cavalry, and for their chariots armed with scythes. Sylla, notwithstanding, took such precautions, that he had but little to apprehend from that quarter ; for he enclosed the enemy with ditches and trenches, which he strengthened with redoubts ; and the moment the battle began, he placed his second line behind palisades. As soon as the chariots advanced to attack the first line, it retired all of a sudden through the intervals left between the palisades ; and at the same time, the archers and slingers throwing a vast shower of darts and stones upon the horses and charioteers, obliged them to fly. The attack of the cavalry was more difficult to sustain, for they had like to have determined

Battle of
Charonea,
gained by
Sylla.

Battle of
Orchome-
nus gained
also by
Sylla.

Greece
reduced.

Mithridates
sues for
peace,

mined the victory in favour of the Asiatics; but it declared at length for the Romans, and was followed by the taking of the enemy's camp. All Greece returns under the Roman government. Several nations of Asia revolt against Mithridates, because of the cruelties which he had lately exercised against the Gallogrecian tetrarchs, and the inhabitants of the isle of Chios, merely upon suspicion of being attached to the Romans. Mithridates is forced to sue for peace, and makes proposals to Sylla by means of Archelaus. The articles of the treaty are drawn up, importing, that Mithridates should evacuate all those countries, which were not heretofore subject to his dominion; should furnish Sylla with a fleet of seventy ships; should deliver up all the Roman prisoners and deserters, and pay a certain sum to defray the expences of the war. Mithridates was not in a hurry to ratify this treaty.

668.

Valerius
Flaccus ap-
pointed to
succeed
Sylla.

He was in hopes that the arrival of L. Valerius Flaccus, who had just landed in Greece with two legions, would make some alteration in his favour. Flaccus had been chosen by Cinna the preceding year, to succeed Marius in the consular dignity, and was appointed to command the troops in the East in the room of Sylla, with a commission to notify to that general a decree of the senate, by which he was declared an enemy to the republic, if he refused to obey. Things were likely to come to this extremity, and the two Roman generals to wage war against each other; and this is what Mithridates expected. But we must not be surprized to see the senate proceed in such a manner against Sylla, though all their hopes were centered in this commander: they were forced to act thus in compliance with Cinna, who was absolute master of Rome. The beginning of this year he declared himself consul the third time, without assembling the comitia, or observing any of the usual formalities, and chose for his colleague Cn. Papirius Carbo, one who was an accomplice in all his iniquity. He had conferred the dignity of censors on M. Perpenna, and M. Marcius Philippus; the latter expelled his uncle Ap. Claudius from the senate, because of his attachment to the nobility. These same censors took a list of the citizens, who were found to be four hundred and sixty three thousand fit to bear arms.

Valerius
Flaccus slain
by his lieu-
tenant Fim-
bria.

Caius Flavius Fimbria, lieutenant to Flaccus, stirs up the army to mutiny against their general, declares himself chief commander in his stead, and puts him to death. When Flaccus first entered upon his consulate, he passed a most unjust law, which discharged all debtors from any obligation to their creditors, upon paying one fourth of what they owed. By this step the consul pretended to remedy, in some measure, the scarcity of specie, occasioned by the civil wars, and by the loss of Asia and Greece; but he rather increased than diminished this scarcity, since he rendered it more difficult to borrow. Another counterfeit remedy was used on this occasion, namely, debasing the value of specie.

Fimbria's

Fimbria's only good qualities were bravery and experience. With the two legions under his command, he undertook to carry the war against Mithridates into Asia, while Sylla was employed in repulsing the Thracians, who had made incursions into Macedonia. Having gained a complete victory over this prince's son, who had the same name as his father, he laid siege to Pergamus, where the king of Pontus then resided, and from whence he obliged him to retire to Pitane, a sea-port town. As he wanted ships to intercept Mithridates' retreat by sea, he had recourse to Lucullus, Sylla's quaestor, who was in the Ægean sea with a good fleet, which he had been two years collecting among the allies; but he refused to send any succours to Fimbria, whom he detested for many reasons. Mithridates makes his escape by sea to Mitylene.

Fimbria carries on the war against Mithridates.

Mithridates besieged in Pitane by Fimbria;

From whence he makes his escape,

And concludes a peace with Sylla.

The bad situation of this prince's affairs obliges him to desire an interview with Sylla, which is held at Dardanus a city of Trons. There he submits to the several conditions, that had been signed by Archelaus.

Sylla had concluded this peace with no other view than to fall upon Fimbria, whom he overcame without fighting. Upon the approach of Sylla's army, Fimbria's men passed over to the opposite camp, and deserted their general; for he was universally hated, not only for the great cruelties he had committed at Rome, when he acted as minister of Marius's revenge; but for his enormous oppressions in Asia, where he behaved as a public robber, neither paying any regard to the laws of war, nor to those of nature. He kills himself through despair. Sylla raises a contribution of twenty thousand talents on the cities of Asia, and quarters his soldiers in their houses, to punish their infidelity to the Romans. A moderate chastisement, which proved fatal however to the Romans, by corrupting them with debauchery, drunkenness, and extravagance.

Sylla marches against Fimbria.

Fimbria kills himself.

669.

Sylla sets out on his return to Italy. Cinna, who had declared himself consul the fourth time with Carbo, sent a detachment to meet him in Dalmatia; but the rest of his army refused to embark. A violent mutiny happened, on account of young Pompey, who was already adored by the army: he served under Cinna, but as he had withdrawn himself suddenly, upon some discontent, they imagined that the general had made away with him. Cinna was killed in this mutiny by a centurion of his own army, which prevented his falling into the hands of Sylla. He had married his daughter Cornelia to the famous Julius Cæsar, who afterwards became the rival and conqueror of Pompey. Carbo remaining sole consul, obliged the senate to declare Sylla an enemy to the republic; and to support their declaration, they raised an army of upwards of two hundred thousand men. Though Carbo had great authority in Rome, still it was far from being equal to that of Cinna. The senate therefore ordered him to proceed to the election of the consuls of the following year in the usual

Sylla sets out upon his return to Italy.

Cinna killed by one of his own soldiers.

Several armies raised against Sylla.

usual forms; and he thought proper to obey: but he took care to get two persons nominated, who were intirely devoted to his interest.

670.

Sylla lands in Italy.

Sylla lands in Italy with all the confidence of a conqueror, who was marching to chastise a parcel of rebels. There were two hundred thousand men to oppose him, while he had only forty thousand under his command; but he depended greatly on the affection of his troops, as well as on his own personal bravery and good fortune. After

He defeats the consul Norbanus.

making proposals of peace in vain to the consul Norbanus, he attacks him in his camp, defeats him, and takes six thousand prisoners. This victory draws almost all the nobility over to his side, at the head of whom was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed *Pius*, from the great love he had always shewn to his father. Sylla was at a geater loss

The consul Scipio deserted by his troops.

how to extricate himself from the other consul Cornelius Scipio, who had surrounded him with a multitude of flying camps, which prevented him from stirring. In this distress he had recourse to artifice; for he pretended to be desirous of peace, and a truce was agreed upon, during which his soldiers found an opportunity to seduce the whole consular army. Scipio was greatly astonished, when Sylla's troops entered his camp one day without resistance, and joining familiarly

with his own soldiers, came and took him in his tent, and carried him to Sylla. Upon hearing this news, Carbo said: *Sylla acts against us both as a fox and as a lion; but the fox is more formidable than the lion.*

It was the fate of Cornelius Scipio to meet with adventures of this sort; for no sooner had he raised a new army, than he marched to meet Pompey, who had just declared for Sylla, and mustered three legions in Picenum, with which he defeated several consular detachments: but the moment the action was going to begin, the consul's troops went over to Pompey.

Pompey declares for Sylla.

We must reckon it no inconsiderable part of Sylla's good fortune, to have gained Pompey over to his side, a general almost as fortunate as himself, and certainly his superior in military virtues and amiable accomplishments. Sylla shewed a very great regard for him even at that time, though he was but three and twenty years of age; and therefore he honoured him with the title of *Imperator (f)*, which the Roman legions gave but rarely to their ablest generals.

The

(f) In the times of the republic, the title of *imperator* was an occasional mark of honour, which the armies sometimes bestowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the senate confirmed in favour of those, who had distinguished themselves by signal victories. The general excelled all other officers, not only because he was invested with the chief command; but especially as he was allowed the *auspicia*, or the honour of taking omens, by the help of the divines, which made a very solemn ceremony in all military expeditions. Hence they were said, *gerere rem suis auspiciis*, and *suis divis*. But under the Cæsars, the title of *imperator* became a mark of sovereignty. The *legati* commanded in chief under the general, and managed all affairs by his permission, whence Cæsar calls their power *opera fiduciaria*. Though their

The consuls draw near to Rome, in order to cover the capital, for which they began to be in pain since the augmentation of Sylla's forces. Carbo having the command of a body of troops on that side, enters the city, and once more becomes master of the senate and the comitia; so that he gets himself named consul the ensuing year, together with young C. Marius, the nephew and adopted son of the young Marius, celebrated Marius, and then only twenty six or twenty seven years of age. ^{Carbo and Marius made consuls.}

The capitol was burnt the sixth of July this year in the space of one night, but by whom was never discovered. The citizens were so much the more alarmed at this misfortune, as the fire pierced to the very chest under ground, where the Sibylline books were religiously preserved, and reduced them to ashes. These accidents were looked upon as forerunners of the fatal events that followed.

671.

Sylla's lieutenant generals were successful in every battle they fought. He secures the different provinces of Italy in his interest, by promising them the privilege of Roman citizenship. Young Marius beginning to look upon his affairs as in a desperate way, orders Damasippus, prætor of Rome, to murder all the rest of the senators that adhered to the patrician interest: of this number were the *pontifex maximus*, ^{of young Marius.} Q. Scævola, who was slain at the foot of the altar of Vesta, where he took refuge; Carbo Arvina, a near relation of the consul; and P. Antistius, father-in-law of Pompey: his wife Calpurnia would not survive him, but laid violent hands on herself. The battle of Sacriportus (g), in which young Marius is intirely defeated by Sylla. ^{The battle of Sacriportus, in which young Marius is defeated.} Of the consular army twenty thousand were killed on the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Sylla mentions in his Memoirs, that this great victory cost him only three and twenty men. Marius flies to Præneste, where Sylla orders him to be blocked up by Lucretius Ofella, while he himself marches to Rome, and enters that city without any resistance. Historians take notice that Lucretius Ofella was a man of base extraction, and that for this reason Sylla preferred him to such a number of patricians, who followed his standard at the hazard of their lives. It is impossible to form a right judgment of men's characters, till they come to act without constraint. Sylla appears to have had sentiments of gratitude and moderation, so long

first institution was not so much to command as to advise. They were chosen commonly by the consuls, with the concurrency of the senate: their number was not certain, but is supposed to have depended on the pleasure of the general.

(g) This place was in the neighbourhood of Signia, now *Segni*, in Latium, as appears from Plutarch, who says, that the battle was fought *πρὸς Σίγνιον*. Appian speaking of young Marius, turns this word into Greek, *ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ καλῶμενον ἐν Λατίνῳ Σίγνιον*. There is an elegant tinesis of it in Lucan, lib. 2.

Jam quot apud sacri cecidere cadavera portum?

But whether it was a town or a village, we are not informed by ancient historians, only that it was between Signia and Præneste.

Telefinus
the Samnite
joins the
Marian
faction.
The Sam-
nite army
defeated.

as he stood in need of the assistance of his friends, and had reason to dread the power of his adversaries; but as soon as he triumphed over all opposition, he gave full swing to his cruelty and ingratitude. After the victory of Sacriportus, he caused all the prisoners of war, that were natives of Samnium, to be put to death, under pretence that their nation had been long the avowed enemies of Rome. Hereupon their countrymen took up arms, under the command of Pontius Telefinus, and struggled for some time against Sylla's good fortune. They first of all endeavoured to relieve Præneste, then formed an attempt against Rome, in which they had like to have succeeded; but were at length overpowered. The last battle which Sylla gained near the Collatine gate, determined the fate of the Samnites and of Rome. Præneste surrenders soon after, and young Marius, who had taken shelter in that city, orders a slave to kill him. Carbo the other consul had abandoned Italy, and retired to Africa, immediately after the battle of Sacriportus. He was taken in the island of Coslura (b) and condemned to death by Pompey, whom Sylla commissioned to maintain his faction in Africa and Sicily. In Spain, Metellus Pius had the conduct of the war against Sertorius, at that time prætor of the province.

Sylla's
cruelty.

Sylla takes the surname of *Felix*, or *Fortunate*, which he would have more justly deserved, says Velleius, had he ceased to live the day he completed his conquests. The remainder of his life was one continued scene of injustice and cruelty. He ordered six or seven thousand prisoners of war to be massacred in the Circus, though he had promised them their lives. The senate were then assembled in the temple of Bellona, which stood near the Circus, and the fathers appearing to be greatly moved by the cries and groans of such a multitude of dying persons, he said to them without being in the least concerned, *let not your attention be diverted, conscript fathers, from what I am saying; the noise you hear is occasioned by a few rebels, whom I have ordered to be chastised.* Such a specimen sufficiently delineates the tyrant's character; so that we ought not to be surprized at the horrid proscription that followed. Every day the names of persons, whom he had devoted to destruction, were fixed up in all public places. Rome, and the several provinces of Italy (i), were stained with murder and slaughter; the slave who brought his master's head, or the son who slew his father, were rewarded. On this occasion Catiline distinguished himself: after murdering his brother, whose name had been inserted among the proscribed at his desire, he

His pro-
scriptions.

(b) Or *Cosyra*, an island in the Mediterranean, between Tunis and Sicily, and now called *Pantalasia*; it is said to be about thirty miles in circumference, and belongeth to Sicily.

(i) Plutarch mentions, that after the battle of Sacriportus, twelve thousand prisoners were inhumanly massacred in the presence of the tyrant; but that upon his excepting one out of the number of the victims, because he had formerly entertained him in his house, the generous Prænestine rejected the offer, saying, *I scorn to give my life to the butcher of my country.*

undertook to inflict the most exquisite torments on Marius Gratidianus. Accordingly this barbarous agent pulled out Marius's eyes, cut off his hands and tongue, broke his bones, dislocated his joints, and last of all cut off his head : as a recompence, Sylla gave him the command of the Gaulish soldiers, who were employed in most of these cruel executions. The number of those who perished by this proscription, is said to have amounted to four thousand seven hundred, of whom two thousand were senators and knights : neither ought we to be surprized at this, since to have displeased Sylla or any of his friends, or even to be rich, was a sufficient cause of proscription. Plutarch relates, that one Q. Aurelius, who had never concerned himself in public affairs, happening to see his name in the fatal list, instantly cried out, *unhappy me ! it is my Alban estate that proscribes me* ; and within two or three minutes after, he was murdered.

672.

The republic being fallen into an interregnum by the death of the two consuls of the preceding year, and by the expiration of the offices of prætors and curule ædiles, Sylla retired into the country for a few days, and sent word to the senate, that they must chuse an *interrex*. The choice fell upon Lucius Valerius Flaccus, at that time president of the senate. The Romans flattered themselves a short while, that they were upon the point of recovering their liberty ; but they were soon made sensible of their error. Sylla gave orders to Valerius to declare to the people, *that it was proper a dictator should be created ; and that if they would lay this burden upon him, he would accept of it for the good of the republic*. Accordingly he is named dictator by the people for an unlimited time. Hitherto there had been no instance of a dictator created by the people ; and besides, the administration of this office had been always limited to six months. The very naming of a dictator might be considered as a third innovation ; for this supreme dignity had not been conferred these hundred and twenty years on any citizen. “ Since ambition had taken place of patriotism, says father Catrou, “ it appeared dangerous to entrust a single person even with a temporary sovereignty.” Sylla appoints Flaccus his general of the horse ; and M. Tullius Decula, and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, men of his own faction, were chosen consuls, agreeably to his will. He orders Lucretius Ofella to be beheaded for standing for the consulate contrary to his express command, and in contempt of the law by which no man was to be elected consul before he had served the office of prætor. To make the world believe that he intended to restore the ancient constitution, he had revived this and several other laws, such as that which empowered the college to chuse new priests ; another which prohibited any person to be raised to the consulate a second time, without an interval of ten years ; another which reduced the tribunes to their primitive station of bare protectors of the rights of the people ; another which restored the judiciary power to the senate ; and lastly, that which retrenched the extravagance of entertainments.

His triumph, and public games.

ments. But while he pretended to revive the ancient laws, it is plain his real design was to abolish all those which might thwart his ambitious views. Upon being named dictator, he got a law passed to ratify all his former, and all his future acts: *a very unjust decree*, says Cicero, *which could not be so much as called a law*. Another political step which Sylla took, was to enfranchise a thousand (k) slaves, who served as his body guard. In the provinces he distributed the old legionaries, by whose assistance he had subdued Asia, Greece, and Italy: and he bestowed upon them the confiscated lands of the towns which had declared against him. He decreed himself a magnificent triumph for his victories over Mithridates, which lasted two days, and was succeeded by the most pompous games that Rome had ever beheld. He added five new members to each of the colleges of pontifices, augurs, and priests appointed to take care of the Sibylline books, the loss of which he repaired to the best of his power, by making an exact search for all the copies extant (l). He created two new prætors, and ordained that henceforward twenty quæstors should be annually chosen. It is to be presumed that he likewise increased the number of senators, since of a sudden he raised three hundred Roman knights to this dignity; which would oblige one to conclude, in the contrary supposition, that there was not so much as one of the ancient senators remaining. He enlarged the inclosure of Rome, an honour reserved for those who had extended the bounds of the empire.

Pompey's successes in Africa.

In Africa, Pompey obtains a victory over Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Cinna's son-in-law, who is slain in the engagement. He carries the war into Numidia, against Hiertas, or Iliarbas, king of part of that country. This prince had sided with Domitius, but met with the same fate as the latter, and his kingdom was given away to Hiempsal: the whole affair was transacted in forty days.

Sylla gives to Pompey the surname of Great.

Pompey obeys the order he received to return to Rome, notwithstanding the mutiny of his soldiers, who wanted him to despise the commands of the dictator. So pleased was Sylla with this behaviour, that he went out to meet him, and embracing him, gave him the surname of *Great*, which he did not assume himself till several years after, when he had arrived to a full maturity of glory. For the present, thinking himself worthier of a triumph than of so grand a title, he solicits strongly for it, and meets with an obstinate refusal from Sylla: *remember then*, said Pompey, *that more people worship the rising than the setting sun*. These words were not heard by the dictator, but upon their being repeated to him by one that stood by, he expressed a great surprize at his boldness, and then cried out bluntly, *let him*

(k) Others say, ten thousand.

(l) He charged the quindecimvirs to make the above search, and out of this collection, they formed a new book, which indeed was larger, but not so authentic as the originals that had been preserved at Rome ever since the time of *Tarquin the Proud*.

triumph, let him triumph. Pompey took him at his word; and this was the first instance that a private Roman knight was honoured with a triumph. Pompey's triumph.

673.

Sylla, though dictator, gets himself elected consul in conjunction with Metellus Pius. It is said; that he took this step to render himself popular, and to shew that he did not think the consulate beneath him: and the emperors afterwards, for the same reason, imitated his example. The laws he had passed were vigorously executed, peace and order seemed to be established, and Rome, in appearance, enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, at the very time that she laboured under the most cruel oppression. The dictator chose often to sit on his tribunal, where, with very little regard to justice, he disposed of several rich inheritances, with the revenues of cities, and intire provinces, to comedians, dancers, and prostitutes. It appeared, however, upon an occasion of this kind, that he was a man of wit and humour. A very indifferent poet happening one day to present him with a copy of verses, he ordered him a part of the effects exposed to sale, upon condition that he would scribble no more. We have already taken notice, that Sylla's friends shared with him in the plunder of his country; and of this we shall give a very strong instance. Upon the murder of Sextus Roscius, a wealthy citizen, Chrysogonus, a freedman, and favourite of the dictator, contrived to have Roscius's name inserted among the number of the proscribed; and his estate, which was worth six million of sesterces, he found means to purchase for two thousand. Then, to get rid of Roscius's son, who had great reason to complain of this injustice, he accused him of the murder of his own father. Under so heavy a charge the youth was in danger of sinking, which was but too often the fate of people in his case. Cicero undertook the defence of so good a cause, and though it was the first time of his speaking in public, he pleaded in such a manner, as to captivate the minds of his hearers, and determine the judges in his favour. Yet our orator was not satisfied with his own abilities, but left Rome soon after, and retired to Athens, where he spent two years in improving himself under the most celebrated orators of Greece; till he out-stripped his masters. Apollonius Molo, one of the most celebrated of them all, was so well convinced of this, that upon hearing him declaim one day in Greek, he sat silent a considerable time, and seemed to be in a deep study, while the rest of the company were vying with one another in their encomiums on the young orator. Cicero having asked him the cause, *alass!* answered he, *I admire your abilities; but at the same time, I lament the fate of Greece. The only glory we had left, was that of eloquence; and now you are going to strip us even of that, and to transplant it to Rome.* Cicero was about seven and twenty when he undertook the defence of Roscius, being born in the year of Rome 647, the same year with Pompey; and they were both of equestrian families. To this year we may also refer the triumph of Murena over Mithridates; a triumph which, in the opinion of historians, was granted him by Sylla for no other reason, Cicero's first pleading, in defence of Roscius Amerinus.
Cicero goes over to Greece for his improvement.
Cicero and Pompey born in the same year.

Muræna
triumphs
over Mithri-
dates.

than to match it against the trophies raised by Mithridates, after a victory which he pretended to have obtained over the Romans. The fact is, according to Appian, that Mithridates and Muræna fought a drawn battle. Muræna had been left by Sylla in Asia, and as he was extremely desirous of a triumph, he recommenced the war under pretence that Mithridates was making formidable armaments, and still kept possession of several towns in Cappadocia. It concluded with the battle just mentioned, Sylla having sent orders to put a stop to all hostilities.

674.

Sylla abdi-
cates the
dictatorship.

Sylla declines the consulate, and abdicates the dictatorship. Rome was surprized, and posterity is still surprized at this event, which is commonly looked upon as an heroic act on the part of Sylla. To view it in a favourable light, which would be shewing some regard to the memory of this celebrated Roman, one might say, that being of a good natured disposition, but of weak understanding, he suffered himself to be intoxicated by success; that having attained the highest pitch of human grandeur, he was mistaken in his notions of happiness, and therefore made an ill use of his prosperity; but reflection and experience convinced him of his error, and finding that there is no real happiness for him who endeavours to make others miserable, he returned to that station of life which became him best. This notion might be partly confirmed by the moderation with which he behaved before the proscriptions, and after his abdication. It will never be forgot how a young man

Is insulted
by a young
man.

having dared to insult him, as he came down from the rostra, he only turned to a few friends about him, and said: *this usage will deter any man for the future, from resigning such power as I have had, if he once gets into possession of it.* But on the other hand, when we consider his vindictive spirit, his thirst of power, his avarice, his perfidiousness, and wanton cruelty, we must conclude that he abdicated not through magnanimity, but from uneasiness and perturbation of mind. There is a term beyond which human sensation, instead of being quickened, is blunted; because nature, as a prudent œconomist, has prescribed bounds to pleasure as well as to pain. When we offer to force her, she makes a vigorous and effectual resistance. He who indulges his appetites to excess, is soon deprived of the relish of pleasure; in the same manner as the sense of pain is extinguished, whenever it becomes excessive violent. No doubt but Sylla experienced something of this nature: as he no longer felt the same delicacy of sensation; in order to revive it, he was obliged to vary the object: and then what idea could be more agreeable to his mind, than that of changing once more the whole face of government, and restoring the republic to her former liberty? To be possessed of some of those qualifications, which form the hero, avails but little; unless we are also masters of those which form the man, that is, unless we have humanity: and this is what Sylla wanted.

He consecrates the tenths of his estate to Hercules, and on this occasion makes a grand feast, to which the people are all invited.

The

The profusion was so great, that they were daily obliged to throw a great quantity of provisions into the Tiber; and he regaled the people with wines of the growth of Opimius's consulate, that is, upwards of forty years old. Metella his wife having been seized with a mortal illness, during these entertainments, he was divorced from her, and had her removed to another house, by the advice of the pontifices, who did not approve that a religious ceremony should be disturbed by funeral rites. By this marriage he had a son and daughter, whom he named *Faustus* and *Fausta*, to correspond with the surname of *Felix*, which he had taken himself. He afterwards married Valeria, sister of the famous orator Hortensius, who was Cicero's rival in eloquence (n).

675.

He is attacked by a pedicular distemper at his fine country house near Cumæ, to which he had retired. It is imagined he brought this distemper upon himself by his debauchery, to which he gave a full scope, in order to silence all remorse of conscience; if so, his case was like that of Marius. He was very credulous, giving faith to soothsayers, astrologers, and dreams; thus he wrote in his Memoirs two days before his death, of his having been told in a dream, that he should shortly rejoin his wife Metella. This was not difficult to foresee in his present situation; but he hastened his end a few days, by straining his voice in the heat of passion, which broke an imposthume in his bowels, so that he voided a great deal of blood and corrupt matter. He died the following day, aged sixty. His funeral occasioned a dispute between the consuls; Lepidus was for having him buried without any mark of distinction; but Catulus, supported by Pompey, insisted on his being interred (o) with the honours due to the merit

(n) The manner of Sylla's getting acquainted with this lady is curious enough. As he entertained the people with a show of gladiators, a young lady of extraordinary beauty placed herself near him, and resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took a little of the knap from off his robe, and then returned to her seat. The dictator seemed to be much surprized with the familiarity: the lady told him, that it was not out of disrespect she had done this, but because she was desirous to partake of his good fortune. Sylla pleased with the answer, and smitten with the lady's charms, sent privately to inquire who she was, and found that she was Valeria, the daughter of Metella, and sister to the famous orator Hortensius. The lady was gay and lively, though of an unblemished reputation, and had been a few days before divorced from her husband. The old warrior from that time paid his addresses to the beautiful Valeria, till at length he married her. *Plut. in Sylla.*

(o) The most ancient way of burying among the Romans, was interment; but afterwards, to prevent the ill treatment of their enemies, they burnt their bodies, as the Grecians did. However, it is probable that the poorer sort were still interred, as being the cheapest way, and that only persons of condition used burning. Infants, who died before the breeding of the teeth, were inclosed unburnt in the ground; and the burying place was called *suggundarium*. The same superstition was observed in regard to persons, who had been struck dead with lightning or thunder.

Funerals were divided into *indictum* or *publicum*, and *tacitum*: the *funus indictum* was so called *ab indicendo*, from inviting, because there was a general invitation of the people by the public crier; this was celebrated with splendor and magnificence.

merit of the late dictator; and their opinion was followed by the whole senate. Sylla's corpse dressed in a triumphal robe, and preceded

The *funus publicum* was sometimes intirely the same with the *indistinctive funeral*, such as was usually made for rich and great men; and sometimes only a species of it, when it signified the proclaiming of public sorrow, or defraying the charges of the ceremony out of the public stock. According to the dignity of the deceased persons there were several sorts of public funerals, as *Prætorium*, *Consulare*, *Censorium*, and *Triumphale*. The *funus tacitum*, called also *vulgare*, *plebeium*, and *translatitium*, was kept in a private manner. The *funera acerba*, were those of children.

When they perceived a body dying, the nearest relation or friend received his last gasp of breath into his mouth, to shew how unwilling he was to part with him; and as soon as he was dead, closed his eyes. Then the dead body was washed, anointed, and embalmed, either by the women whom they termed *Funeræ*, or in richer families by the *Libitinarii*, so called from *Libitina* the goddess of obsequies. These had a number of servants under them, such as the *Pollinctores*, the *Vespillones*, &c.

If the deceased was a man of quality, they dressed him in a garment suitable to his rank, then placed his corpse in a bed near the threshold, called *lectica*, covered with purple, and his head crowned, either with an honourable coronet, if he had obtained any in his life-time, or with chaplets of flowers. This was called *collocatio*, or *laying out*. On the eighth day they carried him to the funeral pile. During these seven days, his friends met together, and made great outcries about his body, hoping to awake him, if he were not perfectly dead. This was called *conclamatio*; hence the proverb *conclamatum est*, when we give a thing for lost. The carrying forth the corpse was termed *elatio*; and for this purpose they anciently made use only of the night; hence the word *funus à funalibus*, from torches, and *vespillones* from *vesper*, the evening; but this custom was not long observed, at least in public funerals, though the bearing of torches still continued. At the head of the funeral pomp were carried the marks of his nobility, the trophies he had taken in war, and the busto's and statues of his ancestors, either done in wax, or painted. Then came the *siticiæ*, the *præficiæ*, the *ludii*, and *bistriones*. The *siticiæ* were so called from *situs*, and *cano*, from singing to the dead; they were of two sorts, some sounded on the trumpet, others on the flute. The *præficiæ*, so called à *præficio*, i. e. *placētum princeps*, were the mourning women, hired on purpose to sing the *nænia* or *lessus*, the funeral song. The *ludii* and *bistriones*, were the mimics and players, that went before the funeral bed, and danced after the satyric manner. The bier, or the funeral bed, was generally carried by the nearest relations, or the heirs of the deceased; and sometimes by the chief magistrates. The corpse was followed by the friends and relations of the deceased, with their hair dishevelled, and in black, which was the common wear for mourning; hence the word *exequiæ à sequendo*, from *following*. If the person had done great services to the commonwealth, the body was carried to the *forum*, where a funeral oration was delivered in his praise by one of his nearest relations, the invention of which custom is generally attributed to Valerius Poplicola. This being done, they carried him to the place where the body was to be burnt, where they erected the *pyra*, a large pile composed of the wood of resinous trees, garnished with branches of cypress. After they had cast his arms and apparel upon this pile of wood, his body was to be burnt; and for this purpose, they laid it on the *rogus* or *pyra*; and the nearest relation to the deceased, turning his face aside, set it on fire with a torch. About this pile they sometimes shed human blood, either of captives or gladiators. The gathering up the bones and ashes, and putting them into the urn, was termed *ossilegium*. After this the company was sprinkled with *aqua lustralis*, and the eldest of the *præficiæ* dismissed the people, by crying out aloud, *ilicet*, i. e. *ire licet*, you may go; and they took their leave of the deceased with the *recussima verba*, which were *vale, vale, vale, nos te ordine quæ natura permiserit, cuncti sequemur: farewell, farewell, farewell,*

ceded by four and twenty lictors with their fasces, was brought from His funeral. Cumæ to Rome on a rich bier; the troops followed with their eagles and colours; a multitude of trumpets made the air resound with lugubrious notes; at Rome the whole college of vestals, the pontifices, the senate, all the curule magistrates, the Roman knights, with an immense crowd of people, joined in mournful train, singing several hymns in praise of the deceased. The procession moved on to the forum, where his funeral oration was pronounced; and from thence to the field of *Mars*, where the funeral pile was raised. Sylla had ordered by his will that his corpse should be burnt; from an apprehension of the same treatment as he himself had shewn to Marius, whose body he caused to be thrown into the Tiber. Plutarch takes notice that Sylla's monument was still extant in his time in the *Campus Martius*, with an epitaph said to be of his own composing, the substance of which was: *that no friend had ever done him so much good, nor enemy so much harm, but he had returned both with usury.*

Sylla was no sooner dead, than the contrary faction began to raise New disturbances its head. The consul Lepidus was their leader: under pretence of restoring the forfeited estates, and of recalling the proscribed citizens, raised by he wanted to repeal Sylla's laws: and perhaps he would have involved Lepidus the republic in the same unhappy broils, as those she had lately experienced, had his capacity been equal to his ambition. Lepidus seemed to have justice on his side, but, as Florus observes, *Rome was now in the same situation as a wounded person that wants repose: to touch*

well, farewell, we will follow you in our turns, when it shall please nature. As they went away, they had a custom of wishing for *light earth*, to lie on the relics, *sit tibi terra levis*. The bones and ashes were carried to a sepulchre, before which an altar was built, and upon it they burnt incense. Then the next heirs gave a private feast to his relations, and sometimes a public one to the people. The private feasts were called *silicernia*, from *silex* and *cæna*, as if we should say, *suppers made on a stone*, because they were kept at the tomb of the deceased. On occasion of the public feasts, it was customary to distribute a parcel of raw meat among the poor people, which they called *visceratio*.

If the deceased was a person of mean fortune, he was carried by the *vespillones*, or *sandapilones*, in a common bier, called *sandapila*, to the *puticulae* or *puticuli*, without the Esquilian gate, which were burying places for the poorer sort. For by a law of the twelve tables, none but the vestal virgins were allowed to be buried within the city; though some few, by particular reasons, as Valerius Poplicola, and Fabricius, obtained this honour. Their motive for burying without the city, seems to have been chiefly, that the air might not be corrupted by the stench of putrified bodies, nor the buildings endangered by the frequency of funeral piles. They generally interred them near the high-way, to put passengers in mind of their mortality; hence we meet with the word *viator* so frequently in old inscriptions. The place assigned for the burial of great persons was the *Campus Martius*; but this honour could not be obtained without a public decree of the senate. It was also customary to erect *cenotaphia* or *honorary* tombs, either to persons buried in another place, or to those whose remains could not be found. In the month of February they celebrated the *feralia*, or the feast of the ghosts, and then they offered sacrifices called *inferiæ* to the *manes*. The time settled for mourning, was the old year of Romulus, ten months, *luctus annuus*. In public mourning it was usual to express their sorrow by putting a stop to all business, even in the courts of law, and settling a vacation till such a period.

her,

her, only in order to dress her wounds, would expose her to the danger of making them bleed anew. Lepidus advances to the gates of Rome at the head of an army, with a view of compelling the comitia to grant him a second consulate: upon which the elections are deferred, and the republic falls into an interregnum.

676.

Lepidus defeated by Catulus and Pompey.

The senate pass a decree, empowering the inter-rex Appius Claudius, and the proconsul Lutatius Catulus, to take such measures as they should think conducive to the safety of the republic. This commission invested them with a power almost unlimited. Catulus, assisted by Pompey, defeats Lepidus, who retires to Hetruria. The liberty of suffrages being restored in Rome, Decimus Brutus, and Mamercus Æmilius are chosen consuls. Pompey marches into Cisalpine Gaul, where M. Brutus commanded a considerable detachment, and had declared for Lepidus; but at the approach of Pompey, he retires to Mutina. Being closely besieged, he is obliged to surrender himself to Pompey, who orders him to be beheaded. In Hetruria, Lepidus is defeated a second time by Catulus: this victory was also owing to Pompey, who came up with his forces from Cisalpine Gaul, just at the very time that the enemy began to have the advantage. Lepidus flies to Sardinia, where he dies of chagrin, and the senate grant an amnesty to the conquered.

Pompey appointed to command against Sertorius in Spain.

Character of Sertorius.

Pompey had hitherto, without either titles or public character, commanded armies with success, and had the glory of destroying the several branches of the Marian faction in Africa, Sicily, and Italy; so that he was pitched upon as the only commander able to cope with the famous Sertorius, who supported the remains of the declining party in Spain. That flourishing province was brought to take part in the war, merely through affection to Sertorius. This gallant man was affable, obliging, and generous; in short, he was addicted to no vice, and had a great many virtues. Yet he was obliged for some time to give way to Sylla's superior good fortune. Annus having been sent against him by that dictator, corrupted one Calpurnius Lanarius, who opened the passes of the Pyrenees, and introduced him into the heart of Spain. Sertorius passed over into Africa, where he made several expeditions, and did not think of returning to Spain till he had rendered himself famous in that country by the variety of his adventures. It is said that in a melancholy fit he thought once of retiring to the Atlantic (o) or Fortunate Islands, taken with the account he had

(o) It is uncertain what country the ancients meant by the Atlantic or Fortunate Islands. Plutarch gives a description of them, exactly like that in the fourth book of the Odyssey. According to the same author, they were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and distant about 10,000 furlongs from the coast of Africa. Plato describes them in such a manner in his Timæus, as made several believe he meant America. But according to the most probable opinion, the Atlantic islands are the Canaries and Azores.

heard of those happy regions, and that he had formed a design there to spend the remainder of his days in peace and retirement. His gentle disposition might prompt him to such a resolution; but the love of glory brought him back to Lusitania. Hearing that Annius His exploits, was advancing towards this province, and that the Lusitanians in this extremity had chosen him for their general, he accepted of the command, and obtained some advantages over the Romans. Metellus Pius was thereupon sent to Spain: he was an able general, but too slow to deal with so enterprizing an enemy as Sertorius. His miscarriages determined the senate to send Pompey to his assistance, in the quality of proconsul.

When this new general arrived in Spain, Sertorius was in the very height of his prosperity, having received a considerable reinforcement from Perpenna, who had collected the remains of Lepidus's army. He had a numerous court, composed of illustrious Romans, whom Sylla's proscriptions had obliged to leave their own country; he gave laws to almost all Spain; and had formed, as it were, a new republic, with a senate, and other officers, according to the Roman form of government: he likewise civilized the Lusitanians by setting up public schools, and took care that the children of the nobility should be instructed in the Greek and Roman learning. The parents were extremely well pleased with this regard for their children, and the lower class were still more attached to him, from a certain motive, that never fails to influence the vulgar. He had made them believe, that he had a communication with heaven, and that he received frequent intelligence of the enemy by means of a milk-white fawn, which he had reared up with care, and which followed him, even in battle. We have seen many a great Roman making use of the like artifices. Pompey's first essay against so renowned a general, was not successful; for he received a considerable check before the town of *Lauren* (o), the siege of Pompey which he had attempted to raise. Sertorius takes it, and burns it before his face, after cutting off ten thousand of his men in small parties; he likewise breaks a Roman cohort that had been infamous for its debaucheries. receives a check before Lauren.

677.

Metellus obtains a signal victory in Bætica over L. Hirtuleius, Sertorius's quaestor. This battle he gained by his great caution, but had been always unsuccessful against Sertorius in person: he took care not to let his troops stir out of their camp, till the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle in the morning, had suffered greatly by the excessive heat, without being able to take any refreshment. The battle of *Sucro* (p) in Tarraconian Spain, between Sertorius and Pompey. The victory was undecided; the left wing, commanded by Ser. Hirtuleius defeated by Metellus. The battle of Sucro.

(o) Now *Liria*, a strong town on the banks of the *Turia*.

(p) A river of Valentia in Spain, now *Xucar*; there was also a town of the same name at the mouth of that river, now *Almira*.

torius,

torius, defeated the right wing under the command of Pompey ; while Sertorius's right wing was intirely defeated by Afranius, who penetrated even to the enemy's camp, and there made some havock. The loss Sertorius regretted the most, was his hind, which had been of great use to him. But she was found a few days after by some of his soldiers, whom he engaged to keep it secret ; then pretending to have been apprized in a dream, that his favourite animal would soon return, he told this important news to his troops with a very chearful countenance ; upon which the hind being let loose, came bounding to her master, and licked his hand, amidst the acclamations of the whole army. By such puerile artifices were those credulous Lusitanians deluded. Sertorius drew up his army, as if he intended to engage Pompey a second time, but hearing that Metellus was coming up to join him, he retired, saying, *had it not been for the old woman, I would have sent the boy back to Rome, after whipping him as he deserves.* As Sertorius called Metellus an old woman, the latter, on the other hand, used to stile Sertorius, *Sylla's fugitive, one that had escaped from Carbo's shipwreck.* Thus did those great men, notwithstanding their mutual esteem, treat each other ; actuated rather by the spirit of party than by reason, as it too frequently happens.

The battle
of Segontia.

Metellus and Pompey having united their forces once more, obliged Sertorius to come to a general engagement in the neighbourhood of Segontia. The victory was snatched from him just at the very time that he was repulsing Metellus, after defeating the other wing commanded by Pompey. Metellus being wounded on this occasion, his troops, who really loved him, returned to the charge, and fell upon the Spaniards with an impetuosity that nothing could withstand. This victory, which had been owing to chance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of Metellus's glory : he flained it by his intolerable pride, which he carried to such excess, as to suffer divine honours to be paid him in the towns through which he passed ; and by his baseness in fixing a price on Sertorius's head ; a behaviour, says Plutarch, *which plainly shewed that he despaired of subduing Sertorius by force of arms, since he wanted to purchase his blood.*

Dissentions
at Rome.

At Rome, the consul Curio had a quarrel with Cn. Sicinius, tribune of the people, who was for restoring the college to the privileges they enjoyed before Sylla's time. This affair ended with the assassination of Sicinius, in which Curio was strongly suspected of having a hand. It was the year following that the consul Caius Cotta repealed a clause of Sylla's law, which excluded those who had been tribunes from superior offices.

678.

He was forced to take this step by the clamours of the people, who suffered greatly at that time by scarcity of provisions, and imputed this whole misfortune to the abolition of the privileges of the tribunes, their protectors. The people see no further than what immediately affects them ; they never ascend to the original cause. The depredations of the Cilician pirates were the real source of the scarcity and dearneſs

Depreda-
tions of the
Cilician pi-
rates.

dearths of provisions in Rome. These robbers had assembled from almost all the maritime parts of the East, but were called Cilicians, because they had made a settlement on the coast of Cilicia: they began their incursions at a time when Sylla was engaged in the war against Mithridates, and the rest of the Romans were involved in domestic broils. In a few years their number increased to such a degree by impunity and success, that at the time we are speaking of, they were become the terror of the seas. Sicily, which had been looked upon as the chief granary of Rome, was no longer able to supply it with the usual provision of corn, without running an almost evident risk of its falling into the hands of these robbers. Yet the Sicilians made an effort this year, at Cicero's particular desire, who was then quæstor at Lilybæum: they ventured to export a little corn, and Rome received some relief. Cicero had one fault, which was vanity: he imagined that the capital of the world was wholly employed in sounding his praises. But he perceived his mistake in his return through Puteoli, a city at that time of the year very much frequented, because it was the season for drinking the waters: there he found that nobody knew him. One wanted to hear some news from Rome; another asked him whether he was not come from Africa; and a third pretended to know that he was quæstor of Syracuse. Finding therefore that he was not yet distinguished from the croud, he fell into the humour of the place, and made himself one of the company who came to drink the waters. He tells this story himself (q), and adds, that being convinced more than ever that the people of Rome had dull ears but quick eyes, he resolved to settle in the city, to live constantly in the view of his fellow citizens, and to stick close to the bar. Cicero had in his youthful days tried his genius in poetry, and in the military art, but found he had only an indifferent capacity for either.

Curio being made proconsul, subdues the Dardanians, a warlike nation, who had long infested Macedonia with their incursions: he likewise conquered Mæsia (r), and penetrated as far as Dacia (s) and the Danube. We meet with two other proconsuls before Curio, that made war against the people bordering on Macedonia; Appius Claudius, who had no success, but died of chagrin; and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, who was honoured with a triumph. Curio had the same honour done him.

The Romans were menaced with another war. Mithridates was impatient under their yoke; therefore intending to break with them a third time, he thought it adviseable to strengthen himself with the alliance of Sertorius. With this view, he made proposals to this general,

(q) *Pro Planco*, 26.

(r) A province of Europe, divided into two parts; the upper, which borders upon Hungary, is called Servia; the lower, towards Pontus and Thrace, is called Bulgaria.

(s) A country beyond Hungary, containing the present Moldavia, Transylvania, and Walachia,

which

which were accepted only in part: he offered to furnish him with money and ships, on condition that he would give up Asia to him. Sertorius answered like a true patriot: *it is my duty to contribute to the enlarging of the Roman dominions, and not to increase my own power by the losses of my country: but I shall not oppose his attempting to recover Bithynia and Cappadocia, which do not belong to the republic.* Mithridates was surprized at this haughty answer, yet could not help admiring the magnanimity of Sertorius: hence he concluded the treaty upon his own terms, and supplied him presently with money and ships. But we do not find that Sertorius reaped any great benefit from these succours.

679.

Conspiracy
against
Sertorius.

He is assassi-
nated at an
entertain-
ment.
Perpenna
defeated,
taken and
put to death.

The war
of Spain
ended.

Servilius's
triumph
over the
pirates.

Sertorius's affairs began to decline by the base artifices of Perpenna, who was tired of being subordinate to a man of inferior birth. He therefore blew the coals of sedition among the Romans as well as the Spaniards: to the former he represented, that it was a shame for them to stoop to a soldier of fortune; the latter he loaded with taxes, pretending that he only executed Sertorius's orders. Upon which several cities revolted, and Sertorius proceeded to the severest punishments: *He was at last severe, says Plutarch, to those who had wrongfully injured him.* Appian pretends, that the irregularities to which he abandoned himself the latter end of his days, were the cause of his misfortunes: but the narrative of his death clears him from any reproach of that kind. All historians inform us, that he had been invited by the treacherous Perpenna to an entertainment, which was to be his last; that the conspirators, to provoke their general, and so to prepare the way for the horrid act they had been meditating, fell to loose and indecent conversation; that Sertorius, to shew he had no share in the discourse that passed, changed his posture and leaned backward; and that very moment Antonius, one of the conspirators, stabbed him with his poniard. This did not happen till the ensuing year: but since we have anticipated events a little, I shall here conclude the account of this war with observing, that Perpenna was defeated and taken prisoner by Pompey, who ordered him to be put to death, without seeing him, and without looking at any of Sertorius's papers, which he had in his custody. As they might be the occasion of new disturbances, he ordered them all to be thrown into the fire. Such was the end of Sertorius's war, or rather of that of Spain; for thus was it stiled by the victors, to have an opportunity of demanding a triumph. Pompey received this honour a second time, though he was only a Roman knight; and to perpetuate the memory of his victory, he caused a superb monument to be erected in the Pyrenees, the vestiges of which are still supposed to exist in the vallies of Andorra and Altavaca.

To this year we must refer the triumph of the proconsul Publius Servilius Varia over the pirates. He had undertaken this expedition against them in the beginning of the year 675, at the expiration of his consulate. He beat them by sea, took and razed several of their towns,

towns, pursued them even into their retreats, and made himself master of Isaura their capital (s), from whence he took the name of *Isauricus*. But the evil was far from being radically cured. This year the Romans were obliged to invest the prætor M. Antonius, the orator's son, and father of the triumvir of the same name, with an unlimited commission of guarding all the sea-coasts within the jurisdiction of the republic. The prætor set out with such confidence upon this expedition, that, as Florus says, he had more chains than arms on board his ships: he attacked the Cretans who had harboured those pirates, but was defeated with the loss of most of his ships, which were taken by the enemy. This shameful sight so grieved him, that he died soon after of chagrin, and the pirates grew more powerful than ever. They grow more powerful.

The consul Licinius Lucullus prevails on the people to entrust him with the conduct of the Mithridatic war. This is the very same Lucullus that had been quæstor to Sylla, whom he equalled in military skill, and surpassed in civil accomplishments: his colleague was M. Cotta, a man no way comparable to him. The latter was to have the command of the fleet designed to guard the Propontis, and to defend Bithynia, while Lucullus carried on the war in Cappadocia: thus we see that these two provinces were constantly the bone of contention betwixt Rome and Mithridates. This prince had lately seized on Cappadocia, contrary to the last treaty, and on Bithynia, to which the Romans had acquired a recent title by the testamentary disposition of Nicomedes. Cotta abandons Bithynia upon the first news of Mithridates's approach, and takes refuge in Chalcedon. Hearing afterwards that Lucullus was marching with all expedition to engage Mithridates, he drew together what troops he could, and gave battle inconsiderately, in order to have the sole glory of conquering the enemy; but was defeated. His vice-admiral Nudus, who had an engagement at the same time by sea, met with the like bad fortune. After this victory, Mithridates laid siege to Cyzicum, a very strong city on the Propontis. Lucullus, who followed close at his heels, suffered him to begin the siege, and on this occasion shewed his profound skill in the military art. He knew that the Cyzicans were determined to make a gallant defence; and that Mithridates would never be able to get provisions for three hundred thousand men (for that was the number of his forces, reckoning the necessary attendants as well as soldiers) if the siege continued for any time. Things turned out just as he had foreseen, Mithridates was obliged to send away great part of his army, already half starved and exhausted by the fatigues of the siege: but Lucullus comes up, and obtains a cheap victory over those battered troops. The rest did not meet with a better fate; for the famine was so great in the Pontic camp, that when any body Lucullus entrusted with the conduct of the Mithridatic war.
His colleague Cotta defeated by Mithridates.
The siege of Cyzicum raised.

(s) Called afterwards *Isauropolis*, and now *Saura*; it was the capital of Isauria, a country of Asia Minor, comprehending part of mount Taurus, and the mountains between Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Pamphilia.

Mithridates
twice de-
feated by
Lucullus.

died, his carcass was instantly devoured by the soldiers. The king, unable to bear so shocking a sight, embarked in the dead of the night, ordering his lieutenant generals to reconduct the army to Lampascus: Lucullus came up with them on the banks of the Granicus, and in this miserable plight they were easily routed.

680.

Bithynia
recovered.

Lucullus being continued in the proconsulship, recovers all Bithynia, except the town of Nicomedia, where Mithridates had shut himself up. He likewise gains two victories at sea, in which he destroys a fleet that prince was sending to Italy. In the last of these engagements he took M. Marius, whom Sertorius sent to Mithridates with the title of proconsul, upon concluding an alliance with that prince. Lucullus looking upon him as a traitor to his country, ordered him to be put to death. Mithridates, dejected at the loss of his fleets, retires into Pontus, whither Lucullus pursues him, and makes that country the seat of war.

Mithri-
dates's fleets
defeated.

The war of
the slaves
under Spar-
tacus.

The fleet which Mithridates had ordered to sail for Italy, was intended to support the revolt of Spartacus, who was ravaging that part of the country with an army of forty thousand slaves (1). The scarcity of provisions, owing to the depredations of the pirates, still continued to be felt in Italy; and we may easily imagine that the

(1) The slaves constituted a considerable part of property among the Romans. They were of two sorts, *servi nati*, viz. those born of parents that were slaves; and *servi facti*, viz. those taken in war, or that voluntarily parted with their liberty. Such as had been taken in war, were properly called *mancipia*, *quasi manu capta*. Slaves were sold either *sub hasta*, that is, by auction, when it was customary to set up a spear in the forum, to shew it was done by lawful commission; or *sub corona*, from a sort of chaplets that were put about the captives heads for distinction. They had labels about their necks, expressing their good and bad qualities. Their masters had the power of life and death over them; but this was restrained under the emperors. But if they used their slaves with too much severity, the magistrates could oblige them to part with them at a reasonable price. The common allowance to those poor wretches, was four bushels of wheat a month, out of which they might save what they could, and this was called *peculium*. If a person committed any crime against the state, he gave his slaves their liberty, and made them Roman citizens, to prevent their being racked, in order to inform against their master; for it was not lawful to put a Roman citizen to the rack. The slaves being generally instructed in the arts and sciences, were employed in different offices, from whence they had a variety of names; as *servus ab ephemeride*, one who takes care to put his master in mind of the calends, nones, and ides; *servus ab epistolis*, *servus à manu*, or *amanuensis*, or *ad manum*; *servus à pedibus*; *servi a flores*, *procuratores*, *cellarii*, *negotiatores*, *nutritii*, *cubicularii*, *villici*, *ad limina custodes*, *lecticarii*, *cursores*, *pastores*, *saltuarii*, *venatores*, *accupes*, *aquarii*, *potillatores*, *præguistatores*, *obsonatores*, *pistores* & *molitores*, *ostiarii* & *janitores*, *scoparii*, *balneatores* & *unflores*, *librarii*, who transcribed books; *nomenclatores*, who told their masters the names of the people passing by, at the time of canvassing for elections; and last of all *medici*, slaves that practised physic, according to Suetonius, *mitto tibi præterea unum à servis meis medicum*.

weight thereof fell particularly upon the slaves. Spartacus, one of the number, having broke his chains at Capua, in conjunction with two hundred more, who served like him in the capacity of gladiators, seized on the opportunity, and putting himself at their head, displayed all the abilities of a great captain. His wife was possessed of one quality of no less consequence: she knew how to counterfeit inspiration, and pretended to prophecy. Spartacus took up his quarters at first on mount Vesuvius, being attended only by his fellow slaves; but soon after, all the slaves of Campania flocked about him, and with their assistance he defeated the prætor Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was sent against him with a detachment of three thousand men. Spartacus defeats the prætor App. Claudius, and also the prætor Vatinius. Vatinius, the other prætor, was ordered to march with a stronger army than the former; but this army was intirely routed, and the prætor killed. The body of Vatinius being found on the field of battle, was stripped by Spartacus, who dressed himself in that general's habit, and henceforward appeared in public as a Roman prætor, with lictors carrying the fasces before him. And indeed all this state became him very well; for it is generally agreed, that Spartacus was really endowed with heroic qualities, though fortune had made him a slave. This first campaign he gave a strong proof of his generous sentiments; for perceiving that Campania, Lucania, and several other provinces had been laid waste by his men, contrary to his express command, he gave them their discharge at the foot of the Alps, and advised them to return to their own country, saying, that he had done enough in restoring so many poor wretches to their liberty. But his advice was not followed. His generosity.

681.

His army is divided; the Gaulish slaves, who made one half thereof, chuse a person called Cnixus for their chief, and separate from the rest: they are defeated by the consul Gellius, and Cnixus is killed. Spartacus continuing at the head of his countrymen the Thracian slaves, gains a victory over Lentulus the consul; then falling upon the consul Gellius, who had joined the prætor Arrius, and was in full pursuit of the Thracian army, he routed them both in a pitched battle. He obliges three hundred Roman prisoners to fight as gladiators at the funeral of his comrade Cnixus. It was the custom of the Romans to exhibit these spectacles at the funerals of great men, "doubtless, says M. Crevier, to give them to understand, that if they sported thus in human blood, they might be exposed themselves to the like treatment." What remained now for Spartacus, after obliging all the Roman armies in Italy to fly before him, but to march directly to Rome, and there to prescribe laws to the proud republic? He had some notion of this, and was already advanced as far as Picenum, when he received advice that the two consuls had joined their forces in order to intercept him upon his march; upon which he turned back, and fell upon the proconsul C. Cassius, and the prætor Cn. Manlius, whom he put to flight. He gains another victory over the Romans. So many defeats, one upon another, are justly attributed as much to the luxury

luxury and bad discipline of the Roman armies, as to the courage and good conduct of Spartacus. From Plutarch we collect that military rewards were conferred at that time without any manner of distinction; for he tells us, that Cato refused those which were offered him by the consul Gellius, under whom he served, not chusing to accept of an honour to which he did not think himself intitled. Cato was then very young; he was only fourteen at the time of Sylla's proscriptions, when he made an offer to his governor to rid the world of that tyrant. This is the great grandson of Cato the censor, afterwards so well known by the name of *Cato Uticensis*.

Progress of
the Mithri-
datic war.

Mithridates
intirely de-
feated by
Lucullus.

And makes
his escape in-
to Armenia.

In the last, Lucullus made but a very slow progress, not caring to push Mithridates, lest he should become desperate: for this reason he lulled him into a false security, intending to rouse him the first opportunity. Fortune favoured him beyond expectation, and made amends for the danger he had incurred of being assassinated by an emissary from Mithridates. This prince's troops having attacked a Roman convoy in a disadvantageous situation, were intirely routed. The alarm spread itself to the king's camp, who thought proper to retire: he escaped on foot without attendants; his principal officers did the same; and in the confusion occasioned by so precipitous a flight, the king was thrown down by the throng; so that he must have been taken, had it not been for the greediness of the Roman soldiers, who were busied in plundering a mule loaded with part of his treasures, which happened to fall in their way, or rather was left there on purpose, if we may believe Cicero, who compares this flight to that of Medea. Mithridates thought himself safe upon retiring to Armenia to his son-in-law Tigranes; but hearing that the whole kingdom of Pontus had submitted to the Romans, he was apprehensive lest his wives and sisters should meet with dishonourable treatment from the enemy: he therefore sent a messenger to tell them that they must resolve to die, and that he only left them the liberty of chusing their kind of death; upon which the chaste Monima attempted to dispatch herself with the bands of her diadem, but finding them ineffectual, she presented her bare neck to the executioner.

682.

Crassus sent
against
Spartacus.

This year's consuls were not sent against Spartacus; the commission was given to the prætor M. Crassus, surnamed the *Rich*, who had been trained up under Sylla, and was Pompey's rival. Such a general suited Spartacus extremely well, and it is thought that the latter would have maintained his ground, if a body of his own men had not, upon some discontent, revolted. The Gauls and the Germans separating from him once more, encamped in Lucania on the banks of a lake, and were defeated by Crassus, with the loss of five and thirty thousand men. Spartacus in vain attempted to get over to Sicily, where former events encouraged him to hope for future success. At length he came to an engagement with Crassus, and being overpowered by the legionaries, among whom he had pushed too far

in

in pursuit of Crassus, he was killed sword in hand : his death deter- Spartacus
 mined the victory in favour of the Romans, and put an end to the war. defeated
 Spartacus was so firmly resolved to conquer or die, that before the and slain.
 battle he killed his horse at the head of the army, saying, that if he
 proved victorious, there would be plenty of horses ; and if he was
 defeated, he should want none. In this battle forty thousand slaves fell
 by the sword, the rest were dispersed ; above five thousand of them
 rallied again, under the command of one Publipor, and retired into
 Lucania. Pompey was returning from Spain, and had just received,
 though a little too late, a commission to put an end to the war ;
 upon which he marched against those wretches, and made an easy
 conquest of them. He was so vain, in consequence of this sorry victory,
 that he wrote a bragging letter to the senate ; *that Crassus had put the*
slaves to flight ; but for his part, he had intirely extirpated the rebellion.
 Crassus obtained an ovation, or petty triumph, on which occasion
 he distinguished himself by wearing a crown of laurel, an honour
 hitherto appropriated to grand triumphs, a crown of myrtle being all
 that used to be wore at ovations.

Varro Lucullus obtains a triumph over the Bessi and other nations Lucullus's
 bordering on Thrace and Macedon, with whom he had been at war conduct in
 these two years. This Lucullus was brother of the famous proconsul, Asia.
 who continued to distinguish himself in Asia, not by new victories,
 but by his military preparations, and by rescuing the province of
 Asia from the rapacious hands of the publicans : these people had
 carried their extortions to the highest pitch, under pretence of reco-
 vering the remainder of the twenty thousand talents imposed by
 Sylla.

The military preparations carrying on by Lucullus, were designed Lucullus
 against Tigranes king of Armenia. This prince had been a stranger prepares
 to the least adversity these five and twenty years that he had sat upon to make
 the throne ; and after a series of conquests at length he made him- war against
 self master of Syria. He assumed the proud title of *King of Kings*, Tigranes.
 which he made literally true, being waited upon by several crowned
 heads on foot, when he mounted on horseback. One may easily
 imagine that so proud a prince must have been very much offended at
 the summons which Lucullus sent him by his brother-in-law Appius
 Claudius, to deliver up Mithridates : he answered this ambassador
 with spirit, that he knew how to defend himself, if the Romans
 declared war against him.

683.

Pompey and Crassus are made consuls, a dignity which they are Pompey and
 both said to have demanded with armed force ; the one at the head of Crassus
 the troops brought back from Spain, the other at the head of those consuls.
 which defeated Spartacus. These two Romans were perpetual rivals.
 Pompey endeavoured to maintain the surname of *Great* in the opinion They both
 of the multitude by his gravity, in consequence of which he spoke affect popu-
 but little, and never appeared in public but with a numerous retinue. larity.

Crassus kept up the surname of *Rich*, by giving a most sumptuous entertainment to the whole city of Rome (*u*). There were ten thousand tables, all served with equal delicacy, and every citizen received corn enough at the same time to maintain his family for three months. These largesses were the more extraordinary, as Crassus was known to be very avaricious; but his outward deportment was extremely popular and engaging, which gave him a vast superiority in Rome over Pompey, who appeared great only at the head of an army. The method he used to increase his influence over the people, is vastly blameable; namely, by restoring the tribunate to the full degree of authority, which it enjoyed before Sylla's dictatorship: this made the wounds of the republic bleed afresh, as we shall see presently. It is also to be presumed that he had a great share in the law, by which the judiciary power was again divided between the senate and the knights, to whom were added the *tribuni ærarii*, of the plebeian order. But this might have proceeded from a very good motive, for so great was the corruption of the courts of justice in those days, that Cicero says it passed for a maxim, that a rich man, let him be ever so guilty, could not be condemned.

It is not at all surprizing, that amidst so general a corruption, the censors L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, should have been obliged to strike sixty four persons out of the list of senators; but one would

(*u*) The Romans had no proper repast besides the *cæna*, or supper, which was usually about the ninth hour, or our three o'clock; but the more frugal made it a little before sun-set. Those who could not hold out so long, used to break their fast with some small matter, which from the different time of the day was called either *jentaculum*, *prandium*, or *merenda*. The place in which they eat, was called *cænaculum*, but most commonly *triclinium*. At the beginning of the entertainment they gave each of the guests a bill of fare, wherein was set down the number, the quantity, and order of the courses. Anciently they used to sup sitting; but afterwards they took up the custom of lying upon beds. They placed no more than three beds about the table, whence the word *triclinium*; and three in a bed, because they had seldom more guests than nine, and these were covered with purple. On the beds they laid a kind of quilts, stuffed with feathers, which they called *culeitræ*. Before they lay upon these beds, they washed their bodies, changed their garments for the *vestis convivialis*, or *cænatoria*, a light kind of frock; and pulled off their *soleæ*, or shoes, for fear of spoiling the beds, which were covered with carpets called *stragula* or *toralia*. On the carpets were laid *pulvini*, or pillows, for the guests to lean their backs upon. Low beds were looked upon as scandalous. At the beginning of the entertainment they lay upon their bellies, their breasts being kept up with pillows, that they might have both hands at liberty; but towards the latter end, they either rested themselves on their elbows, or if they had no mind to talk, they lay all along. They seldom failed to have music and antique dances while they were eating. Their supper was usually divided into three parts, called their first, second, and third course. In the first were always served eggs, and in the last always apples; whence we have the proverb, *ab ovo usque ad mala*. The *sportula* was a dole of meat distributed by persons of high rank to the people, so called from the basket in which it was brought. Sometimes they distributed money (eighteen-pence halfpenny farthing) instead of meat; this they also called *sportula*, and was opposed to *cæna recta*, which signified a set or full supper. *Cæna ambulatoria*, was when one dish walked round the table.

wonder

wonder how Cicero could ever succeed in the prosecution against Verres; a man so infamous for his extortions during the time he had been prætor in Sicily. Cicero however accounts for this himself, by informing us, that in criminal causes it was customary to draw a certain number of judges by lot; that out of these the prosecutor and prisoner chose whom they pleased, and that he took care to retain none but men of known integrity. The orator Hortensius, who had undertaken the defence of Verres, was silenced; and Verres was obliged to go into voluntary banishment: this was the only time that Cicero appeared as an accuser, and even this he did at the urgent intreaties of the oppressed Sicilians. It is proper to observe that the censors above mentioned, were the first who had been raised to this dignity since the civil war between Marius and Sylla: they made a census, in which the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be upwards of nine hundred thousand.

Verres accused by Cicero.

Virgil is born this year at the village of Andes near Mantua.

Virgil born.

684.

Cicero was ædile this year, on which occasion he was remarkable for his œconomy in the public shows, which his office obliged him to exhibit to the people; but he rendered himself more famous by the liberality with which he relieved the citizens of Rome, who were still afflicted with a scarcity of provisions, in consequence of the depredations of the pirates: for to this noble use he converted the presents offered by the Sicilians, in acknowledgment for the important services done to their nation. Dedication of the capitol by Q. Lutatius president of the senate: they had been fourteen years in rebuilding this famous edifice.

Cicero in his ædileship relieves the people.

War declared against the Cretans. We have already taken notice, that Marcus Antonius had fought a battle with those people, which did not turn out to his advantage: this war however did not begin till the following year. Here we shall only observe, that it was declared at the motion of the consuls; and that Hortensius, who had courted this command, suddenly resigned it, when it fell to him by lot. Finding he had not resolution enough to quit the bar, where his reputation was established, he ceded this commission to his colleague, Q. Metellus; and no doubt but he was sensible of his inability for such a task from another reason, being extremely nice and effeminate.

War with the Cretans.

In the East, Lucullus, at the head of a small army of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, marched with all expedition against Tigranes, who waited for him with upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men. Both sides shewed equal confidence of success: Lucullus depended on the valour of his troops; Tigranes on numbers, and his good fortune. This prince was so accustomed to flattery, that considering it as an affront to be told, that the Romans, after passing the Euphrates and the Tigris, had penetrated into the heart of his dominions, he ordered the messenger to be beheaded. He did not begin to stir, till he had received tidings that Mithrobarzanes, one

Lucullus marches against Tigranes.

Tigranes's
army intire-
ly routed.

Tigrano-
certe taken.

Lucullus's
troops
mutiny.

Glorious
campaign of
Lucullus.

of his generals, had been routed by the Romans, who threatened to lay siege to Tigranocerte, his favourite city: roused by this intelligence, he marched his forces, and in a few days came up with the Roman army, which was encamped in a large plain upon the bank of a river, and seemed only a handful compared to his numerous forces: on this occasion he pronounced that famous saying; *if they are ambassadors, they are too many; if soldiers, too few*. Lucullus did not wait for the king's advancing any further; resolving to be beforehand with him, he crossed the river, and fell with the utmost impetuosity upon the enemy. It was rather a general slaughter than a battle. The grand Asiatic army was seized with a panic, when they beheld the Roman general advancing boldly on foot, with sword in hand; the cavalry turned their backs, and threw the infantry into disorder. Tigranes was one of the first that fled, leaving his diadem behind him, which fell into the hands of Lucullus. The greatest slaughter is always made in the pursuit of an enemy; and in general it may be said, that there is less safety in flight, than in a firm resolution to conquer or die. This observation is necessary, in order to shew some probability in the account which historians have transmitted of that memorable day; namely, that Tigranes lost above a hundred thousand foot, and almost all his cavalry, to the number of fifty thousand men; and that on the side of the Romans, only five soldiers were killed, and one hundred wounded. The taking of Tigranocerte followed this victory. Tigranes had removed a great part of his treasure to this city, which he had founded himself, and from thence it derived its name; but it was plundered by the conqueror. Lucullus wanted then to make war against Sinatruces king of the Parthians, for pretending to stand neuter between Tigranes and the republic: but he was prevented from executing his design by the mutiny of his soldiers, who refused, all to a man, to go in search of new perils, so far from their own country. He could not oblige them to comply, for indeed his command was expired; therefore he had recourse to intreaty. The Romans had long conceived a prejudice against this general, in consequence of the outcries of the publicans, who had no reason to love him: this was the cause of his being removed from his province, so that he continued at the head of the army only by courtesy.

685.

With troops so disaffected, it is amazing he was ever able to make so glorious a campaign as that of this year. It was owing to the discontent of his army that the season was already far advanced, when he crossed mount Taurus, with a resolution of going in search of Tigranes and Mithridates, who had assembled another army of seventy thousand foot, and five and thirty thousand horse. In order to bring them to an engagement, he made a feint, as if he intended to lay siege to the city of Artaxata (1), where Tigranes had shut up

(1) Its modern name is *Tefis*.

his wives and children. The scheme succeeded, the enemy marched to meet the Romans on the banks of the river Arsanias, where a battle was fought with the same success as the preceding year: it would also have had the same effect, and Artaxata would have been taken, had the Roman soldiers been as ready to follow, as their general was to lead them. The winter setting in very soon in those countries, abounding with woods and mountains, they were obliged to repass mount Taurus. However, he fell upon Nisibis, a considerable city of Asiatic Migdonia, and took it by surprize.

Mithridates
and Tigranes
defeated.

Nisibis
taken.

The proconsul Q. Metellus defeats the Cretans, and makes himself master of Cydonia, Gnosus, and Iyctus, three of their principal cities.

686.

He had now almost completed the conquest of the island, when a quarrel arose between him and Pompey, who seemed to be always ready to undertake the work of other generals, as if he had not glory enough of his own; whereas he had more than he could well execute. He had lately finished, in the space of three months, the most glorious, and most important expedition that had been ever undertaken by the Romans, having rooted out and destroyed those pirates, who had so long infested the seas, and occasioned a scarcity of provisions in Europe, Africa, and Asia. They had no less than a thousand galleys, fraught with the spoils of all nations, superbly decorated with golden balustrades, and purple tapestry, and the oars covered with plate. Pompey, either by himself, or by his lieutenant generals, who were five and twenty in number, began with clearing the coasts bordering upon Italy, and afterwards sailed for the Levant, where the pirates were chiefly harboured. His clemency contributed as much as his bravery towards reducing those robbers; such as voluntarily surrendered themselves, he pardoned, transplanting them to inland places, where he gave them lands to cultivate. The Romans had no notion that this expedition could be so quickly finished; therefore at the motion of Gabinius the tribune, a law was made, investing Pompey with the command of five hundred sail of ships, and of an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse: they likewise gave him the proconsulate of the seas for three years, with an authority over all the coast for the space of fifty miles from the sea. It was by virtue of this extraordinary commission, which made him almost absolute master of the republic, that he pretended to have a right of interfering with the Cretan war, in prejudice to Metellus. The latter asserted his authority by force of arms, and obliged L. Octavius, Pompey's lieutenant, to save himself on board his ships, after he had been witness to the intire reduction of the Island by Metellus. This gallant general however did not obtain a triumph till three years after, which was owing to the opposition from Pompey.

The Cretans
defeated.

The war
with the
pirates.

The pirates
extirpated.

The Gabi-
nian law.

Law of L. Roscius Otho tribune of the people, giving a particular row of seats to the knights at public entertainments. By the same law

no citizen could be admitted into this order, unless his fortune amounted to four hundred thousand sesterces. The *Calpurnian law* against bribery, so called from the consul Calpurnius Piso, at whose motion it was made (p): on this occasion he had a smart dispute with the tribune C. Cornelius, who wanted to propose another on the same subject. Cornelius fell upon two other abuses; one was, that the senate for some time had assumed a dispensing power over the laws; the other, that the prætors did not conform to the edicts, by which they pretended, before entering upon their office, to regulate their decisions. The laws which Cornelius passed in regard to both these points, procured him a great many enemies: at the expiration of his tribunate, he was accused before the prætor; but Cicero undertook his defence, and got him acquitted. This celebrated orator was made prætor this year; in the execution of his office the following year, he condemned Licinius Macer, who had been guilty of extortion and rapine, and was confident of being acquitted by the interest of Crassus: the man was so affected with his sentence, that he took to his bed, and never recovered.

Turn of affairs in favour of Mithridates. In Asia, Lucullus's affairs began suddenly to decline, though it cannot be said that his military glory diminished: for he was not so much as once defeated; and all that he can be blamed for, is his having alienated the affection of the troops by his haughty carriage and too great severity. *He ought, says Plutarch, to have added to his other accomplishments, the most essential of all, the art of making himself beloved.* Tigranes and Mithridates being informed of the mutiny of his soldiers, who absolutely refused to follow him, laid hold of the opportunity, the one to enter into Armenia, the other into Pontus; which they found so much the easier to accomplish, as the generals to whom Lucullus had committed the government of those countries, had rendered themselves odious, by the most grievous oppression. Mithridates, hoping to be reinstated in his dominions, seemed to have recovered his youthful vigour: though he was then almost seventy, he fought like a young man, and received three wounds in two engagements, in which he was victorious over Fabius Adrianus and Triarius. The last victory was so complete, that Cicero does not scruple to say, that Mithridates could never expect the like success at the time of his greatest prosperity.

687.

The Manilian law. Disturbances in Rome, occasioned by the Manilian law, which took its name from the tribune Manilius, at whose motion it passed. The

(p) Some think, that this was the same as the *Cæcilia lex de pecuniis repetundis*, mentioned by Valerius Maximus, and that either the two tribunes, Cæcilius and Calpurnius joined in the making of it; or that we ought to read *Calpurnia* instead of *Calpurnian* in the passage of Valerius, lib. 6. c. 2. There were several other laws against the kind of crime, as the *Junia lex*, *Servilia lex*, *Acilia lex*, *Cornelia lex*, and last of all the *Julia lex*, by L. Julius Cæsar.

intent of it was to confer on Pompey the government of Asia, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war, in the room of Lucullus, without depriving him of the proconsulate of the sea, or the command of the coast, east and west. Gabinius's law had given great uneasiness; and it was natural, that this should create as much. Lutatius Catullus, that venerable old man, who presided in the senate, and the orator Hortensius, opposed it with all their might, but to no sort of purpose; the people were so strongly prejudiced in favour of Pompey, that they imagined it was impossible for them to express their gratitude sufficiently, or to place too great a confidence in this celebrated commander. But they were deceived by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of that ambitious Roman, who pretended to receive such important commissions with reluctance, though he solicited for them strongly underhand. Two great men spoke in favour of the Manilian law; Julius Caesar and Cicero: the former was glad to see the Romans accustom themselves to the command of a single person; and the latter aimed at the consulate. At length the law passed.

Pompey and Lucullus have an interview in a town in Galatia; but Pompey neither of them went away satisfied: Pompey reproached Lucullus with his rapaciousness, and the latter taxed the other with envy and ambition. The historian Paternulus observes, that they were both in the right. Lucullus returned to Italy; but Pompey having attacked Mithridates, and destroyed most of his cavalry, in which the principal strength of the enemy consisted, this prince thought of retiring a second time to Tigranes: yet to avoid fighting, he marched only by night, and entrenched himself in the day; a precaution which served him in no stead. For Pompey having made a forced march, got before him, and attacked him in the night, on the banks of the Euphrates, where he gained a complete victory. Mithridates, at the head of eight hundred horse, breaks through the Roman army, and retires to the kingdom of Bosphorus (u), subject to his son Machares. By the way he stopped only to take a considerable sum of money with him, and a provision of poison for himself and his friends. Pompey marches into Armenia, followed by Tigranes's son, who had rebelled against his father. The king of Armenia looking upon himself as inevitably ruined, took the strange resolution of admitting a garrison into Artaxata, and surrendering at discretion to the Roman general. He endeavoured to palliate this cowardly behaviour, by saying, "there could be no shame in submitting to a general, whom there were no hopes of conquering; and that it was not a disgrace to acknowledge himself vanquished by a person, whom fortune had raised above the condition of all other mortals." A dastardly speech, at which we are not to

appointed to command the army against Mithridates.

Mithridates defeated by Pompey.

Tigranes submits to Pompey.

(u) *Bosporus* or *Bosphorus*, from the Greek, *Βόσς* *ωίπος*. There were two straits of the sea called by this name, *Thracius* and *Cimmerius*; the former is now called the Straights of Constantinople; the other the Straights of Gassa, at the mouth of the *palus Mæotis*; and the latter is the Bosphorus here meant.

wonder so much, when we consider that Tigranes had been very insolent in his prosperity. His son expecting to be put in possession of the crown of Armenia, was greatly dissatisfied, when he saw that Pompey, after adjudging Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Galatia, to the Romans, restored Armenia to Tigranes, but to him gave only Sophene (b); and even this was taken from him some time after, and granted, together with Gordyene and some towns of Cilicia, to Ariobarzanes, son of the king of Cappadocia. In regard to the latter prince, historians mention a most extraordinary instance of his filial piety; that he refused to accept of the crown which his father wanted to resign; though he yielded at length to the authority of Pompey. From that time Ariobarzanes bore the surname of Philopater. Pompey had now reduced two powerful kings, and yet the campaign was not over: he marched in pursuit of Mithridates, and defeated forty thousand Albanians, who attempted to oppose his passage; after which he concluded a treaty with Oræses their king.

The Albanians defeated by Pompey. New disturbances in Rome.

Character of Catiline.

New disturbances in Rome. Towards the latter end of this year, P. Sylla and P. Antronius, being chosen consuls for the next year, and afterwards disqualified and set aside upon an accusation of bribery, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were chosen in their room, which gave occasion to the first conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina. This man was formed by nature to be an enemy to his country: he was subject to excessive vices, and yet possessed very shining qualities, with some external appearance of virtue. He was the only man in the world that may be said to have differed the most from himself: now he patiently submitted to cold, hunger, watching, and every sort of hardship; and now he abandoned himself to idleness, luxury, rioting, and all manner of debauchery: in private, he was connected with the most profligate people in Rome; in public, he kept company only with men of known probity, some of whom were his friends and protectors. Of this number was the sage Catulus, whose interest greatly contributed to Catiline's acquittal; when accused of seducing Fabia the vestal. Sallust charges him also with having deflowered a young woman of high birth, and with having murdered his son by his first wife, in order to marry Aurelia Orestilla, with whom he was passionately in love. Catiline however was incapable of solid felicity. His genius was great, yet wild, so as to pursue his end by the most irregular means: greedy after other people's property, and prodigal of his own; with one hand he injudiciously scattered, what the other had gathered by all manner of extortion. At the time we are speaking of, he was just returned from his prætorship in Africa, and intended to stand for the consulate; but having been accused of bribery, he was obliged to desist. He entered into a strict intimacy with Cn. Piso, a young patrician as debauched as himself, and with P. Antronius, one of the disqualified consuls: these three conspired against the life of the new consuls; but their project

His first conspiracy.

(b) A district of Phœnicia

miscarried. In regard to the circumstances of the plot, historians vary. Sallust mentions no other accomplices, than those above named; he says that Catiline and Antronius were to seize on the fasces, and to send Piso in the quality of prætor to Spain; accordingly he was appointed to that command the next year, but was killed almost as soon as he arrived. Suetonius pretends that Crassus and Cæsar were suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, with a view of becoming, the one dictator, the other general of the horse, and of restoring Sylla and Antronius to the consulate.

688.

There is no sort of doubt, but Cæsar at that time began to revive the faction of Marius and Cinna, to whom he was related, and to lay the foundation of that absolute power which he afterwards usurped. Being ædile the present year, he embraced this opportunity to do two things, which plainly shewed his towering mind. The first was to gain the good will and affection of the people, by exhibiting such magnificent spectacles as had never been seen before. He entertained them with so many combats of gladiators, that the senate thought proper to publish a decree for regulating their number. His colleague Bibulus, vexed at the airs he gave himself on this occasion, said, *that these public games which they had given jointly, were just like the temple of Castor and Pollux, that had been consecrated in honour of both brothers, and yet went only by the name of the former.* The second thing Cæsar did, was privately to set up the statues of Marius in the capitol, with the attributes of victory, and other trophies and inscriptions, expressing his triumphs. This bold attempt put people in mind of what Sylla had formerly said; *that he saw a great many Marius's in this young man.* The affair was laid before the senate, where Catulus made a bustle, concluding his speech thus: *it is time to take care of ourselves, since Cæsar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it.* But every thing gave way to Cæsar's eloquence, who answered the charge with so much artifice, that even the senate approved of his conduct.

Julius Cæsar ingratiate himself with the people.

Crassus and Catulus resign the office of censors, because they could not agree together.

Pompey subdues the Iberians, who opposed his march after he had crossed Albania; but the revolt of Oræses, king of this country, brings him back. He defeats the Albanians a second time, and kills Cosis, their king's brother, with his own hand. It is a mistake to say there were Amazons in this battle. In the mean time Mithridates was gaining ground upon the northern shore of the Euxine sea, till at length he marched to the kingdom of Bosphorus, where he found the throne vacant by the death of his son Machares. This prince hearing of his father's approach, had lain violent hands upon himself, from an apprehension of his resenting the alliance concluded between him and the Romans. Mithridates made himself master of the kingdom, and appeared again at the head of a considerable army.

The Iberians and Albanians defeated by Pompey,

Mithridates gets another army,

689.

ROMAN ANNALS.

689.

Pompey reduces the Kingdom of Pontus to a Roman province.

Syria reduced by Pompey to a Roman province.

Intrigues at Rome for the consulate.

Pompey was in great hopes that this army would moulder away of itself, because he had given directions to Servilius, who had the command of his fleet, to block up the Bosphorus, in order to prevent Mithridates from making his escape, or from receiving any provisions by sea: hence he thought of nothing further but of settling the form of government in the conquered provinces of Asia. Having made himself absolute master of Pontus ever since Stratonix, one of Mithridates's concubines, had delivered up to him the only fortress then remaining in the hands of that prince, he reduced this kingdom to a Roman province. Here he found some of the king's manuscripts, containing, among the rest, love-letters, memoirs concerning particular persons whom he had caused to be poisoned, such as his son Ariarathes, and one Alceus of Sardis, who had distanced him at an horse race; explications of his dreams, and those of his concubines; a collection of observations upon medicine; from whence we may form a judgment of Mithridates's character. Stratonix had insisted only upon one condition in her capitulation with Pompey, that her son Xiphares, who had followed the fortune of the king his father, should have his life granted him, if ever he fell into the hands of the Romans. This condition however only hastened the destruction of the young prince; for Mithridates to be revenged of Stratonix, caused the youth immediately to be put to death, while the mother beheld this tragical spectacle from the walls. From thence Pompey marched into Syria, and reduced that vast kingdom to a Roman province: it was then possessed by Antiochus Asiaticus, of the race of the Seleucidae, to whom Lucullus had given it, after he had conquered Tigranes. Pompey stripped him of his kingdom for several excellent reasons, as he pretended; *but the best reason of all was, that Pompey was the strongest.*

At Rome, Cæsar procured a commission to inquire into the crime of murder, and got several condemned to death for killing proscribed persons under Sylla's dictatorship. The way had been paved for him by Cato, who when quæstor the preceding year, refused to pay the pensions which Sylla had assigned to his guards upon the exchequer. Catiline was accused and acquitted, not without suspicion of connivance from Cæsar, who favoured him openly: he likewise was acquitted upon a charge of extortion, to Cicero's great surprize, who told his friends, *that as clear as noon day, he would be his competitor for the consulate.* Having got out of this scrape, he stood nevertheless for the consulate, in opposition to Cicero; but notwithstanding all his intrigues, he lost his election, and Cicero was named to the fasces, in conjunction with C. Antonius, the orator's son. It was lucky for the latter to have Cicero for his colleague: for Sallust represents him as a person incapable of governing by himself; and one that would have been carried away by the torrent of Catiline's extravagance, with the same readiness as he endeavoured to stem it by the advice of his colleague. The reports of Catiline's having formed a new conspiracy, contributed

very

very much to Cicero's election. A great many used to consider him as a *new man*, or an upstart, and therefore thought it would be a shame to raise him to the first dignity of the state; but now they found him to be an honest citizen, and most capable of serving his country in time of danger: accordingly he was elected by unanimous consent, or rather by a general acclamation, and was named the first. Cicero chosen consul.

690.

Cicero had already signalized his consulate in more respects than one, His remark- when the Catilinian conspiracy was discovered. A tribune, whose able good name was P. Servilius Rullus, proposed an agrarian law, which conduct, threatened the republic with new decemvirs, who were to be invested with an unlimited power, in order to proceed immediately to a distribution of lands. Another tribune, whose name was T. Labienus, intending to raise the popular faction, accused C. Rebirius, a Roman knight, of having heretofore killed Saturninus, for which he insisted on his being punished with death: but Cicero opposed them both with his eloquence and authority, and triumphed at last. He courageously bid defiance to the tribunes, because he expected no favours from their hands; for he had not the ambition, like most of his predecessors, to obtain the government of some province after his consulate: so far from it, he resigned to his colleague C. Antonius the more profitable government of Macedon, which was fallen to himself by lot; and by this method he gained him over to his side. Among other great things performed by this celebrated orator during his consulate, we may reckon his appeasing a very considerable tumult by his eloquence, and his opposing the restoration of the sons of proscribed persons to their paternal inheritance; a measure, which though in appearance just, would have been of dangerous consequence, because Sylla's laws were become the fundamental constitution of the state.

Cicero boasts likewise of having greatly contributed to Lucullus's Lucullus's triumph, which had been hitherto retarded by Pompey. This was triumph. the last scene of Lucullus's grandeur, but not his last happy day. His retreat was the consequence of reflexion: he had the utmost ab- And retire- horrence of those crimes, which would have led him, and afterwards ment, did lead others, to the summit of power. He used often to tell his friends, that fortune has her bounds, which a man of abilities ought to know: convinced of this truth, he led a life of less show and pomp, but of more pleasure and rational amusement. Fond of study and of the conversation of the most ingenious and polite men in his time, he spent whole days with them in his library, which was filled with the most scarce and valuable books, and open to all the literati. He lived with more magnificence than even those Asiatic monarchs, over whom he had triumphed: though at the same time we must own he carried it to a degree of Asiatic softness and luxury. He was very angry once with his steward, who knowing he was to sup alone, had ordered a less elegant entertainment for him than usual: *didst thou not know, says he to the man in a passion, that Lucullus was to sup to night with Lucullus?*

Lucullus? In short, as Plutarch says, *Lucullus looked upon his riches as the spoils of barbarians, which the rights of war allowed him to treat as he pleased.* One would imagine that his falling into those extravagances, was the effect of chagrin; and that so great a man did not run into vanity, till he saw that the injustice of his enemies had stripped him of more solid glory.

Catiline's
second
conspiracy.

Cicero distinguished himself greatly this year, by the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy. This turbulent citizen had been long hatching his wicked design of subverting the government: Fulvia, a woman of distinction, who held a criminal correspondence with Quintus Curius, one of the conspirators, disclosed the secret to the consul, who informed the senate of it in public assembly. Catiline was not in the least daunted, but resolved now to pursue his purpose openly and without disguise. Having miscarried in his attempt to murder the consul in the *Campus Martius*, and afterwards at his own house, he directed his accomplices to excite a rebellion in the provinces. The senate hereupon passed a decree, empowering the consuls to *take care that the republic suffered no detriment.* Catiline had the assurance to appear in this august assembly; but no body took notice of him: on the contrary, those whom he came near, quitted their seats and left him alone. Then it was that Cicero, no longer able to contain himself, pronounced that famous speech, called the first oration against Catiline. This bold conspirator leaves Rome, and puts himself at the head of the rebels. Cicero having provided for the security of the city, mounts the rostra, and pronounces his second oration against Catiline, in order to inform the people of the true state of affairs, and of the motives of his conduct. The fatal moment was now approaching, when the conspirators were to destroy Rome by fire and sword; and yet most of the citizens would not give credit to Cicero's representations. The common people, who favoured Catiline underhand, because he pretended to have espoused the cause of the indigent and unhappy, were not undeceived till the consul intercepting the letters of the chief conspirators, ordered them to be seized, obliged them to confess their crime in the presence of the senate, and acquainted the people therewith in his third oration against Catiline. A public thanksgiving and *supplication* is ordered in Cicero's name, *for having preserved the city from a conflagration, the citizens from a general massacre, and Italy from war:* this was a very extraordinary honour, for *supplications* had been never granted before but to generals, who had been successful in the field against the enemies of the republic.

Cicero's
orations
against
Catiline.

The business now was to punish the conspirators. Cicero therefore convenes the senate, and pronounces his fourth oration against Catiline, wherein he declares himself of the same opinion as D. Sillanus, consul elect for the ensuing year, who was for putting them to death. Cæsar voted against him, and was only for condemning them to perpetual imprisonment; whereby he seemed to confirm the suspicion of being concerned in the plot. Cato took him up with great warmth,

warmth (f) : after railing most vehemently against the corrupt manners of the age, he concluded for putting the prisoners to death, and brought over the whole senate to his opinion. Upon which they were executed immediately in the prisons ; their names were, P. Cornelius Lentulus, a consular person ; Cethegus, of the noble Cornelian family ; Gabinius, Statilius, and one Ceparius of Terracina. Several of the conspirators had gathered round the prison, to hear what passed, and Cicero informed them, by crying out, *vixerunt, they have lived*. Thus the consul fulfilled the promise he had made in his second oration against Catiline, to quash the conspiracy without any disturbance or tumult, and even without laying aside his gown. He received all the commendations he deserved ; he was called the *favicæ*, the *deliverer*, and *second founder* of Rome. And it is observable, that he was the only person on whom the Romans conferred the title of *father of his country*, before they fell under the dominion of the emperors : then indeed this respectable name was lavished on those princes, though most of them were far from deserving it. Antonius, Cicero's colleague, marches against Catiline, who was in the field in Etruria, with a few legions indifferently armed. The conspirators executed. Antonius sent against Catiline.

The beginning of the next year, Antonius came up with him in the neighbourhood of Fesulæ (g). Catiline fought like one in despair, and was defeated : but resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, he threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and died sword in hand. There is hardly a person among the ancients, whose memory has been handed down with greater infamy, than that of this famous conspirator ; and yet he is not the most wicked in history. It would be of no use to balance his vices with his good qualities : the enumeration would only shew that there must be some accomplishments to form a brave wicked man. If we may venture to affirm, that Catiline was not the greatest villain in his time, it is because while historians give us a description of his villany, they likewise mention his remorse. Sallust, his cotemporary, represents him as a person grown odious even to himself, who pined away with chagrin, and endeavoured either to relieve his uneasiness by war and troubles, or to extinguish it by death. We are apt to pity Catiline, when we behold him sinking into luxury and debauch, plunging from one abyss into another, and hurrying into a train of crimes, not from any choice or inclination, but impelled as it were by a kind of necessity. He was not such a profligate as the Caligula's, the Nero's, the Decius's, the Domitian's, who per- Catiline defeated and killed. Reflections on Catiline's character.

(f) During the contest between Cato and Cæsar, a slave belonging to Servilia, Cato's sister, delivered a letter to Cæsar in the senate, wherein were contained the strongest expressions of passion and love. Cato cried out, that it came from one of the conspirators, and insisted on its being read to the assembly. Cæsar smiling, gave him the letter, and Cato, after he had perused it, threw it back to him, saying, *take it drunkard*, for Cæsar was in his youth given to drinking.

(g) A town of Tuscany, in the neighbourhood of Florence, and now called *Fiesole*. Silius, lib. 8, uses it in the singular,

petrated

petrated the most horrid crimes, without the least remorse ; but this very circumstance increases comparatively his guilt. Had Catiline exerted his great abilities in the service of his country, he would have been an hero ; which perhaps he would still have been in our estimation, had he been fortunate ; for such is the prejudice of the generality of mankind, that successful villany ceases to be odious. Catiline, defeated at Fesulæ, appears in a detestable light ; while Cæsar, trampling upon his country at Pharsalia, is a hero.

It is pity there was any irregularity in the proceedings against the conspirators. Since the laws required that no citizen of Rome should be put to death, but by the consent of the people ; how comes it that the senate, after trying the conspirators, did not refer them ultimately to this tribunal ? This shews that the laws had lost all their vigour, since even those who stood up in their defence, were obliged to violate them ; therefore it was natural to expect that so weak a government must soon fall a prey to some ambitious citizen.

Pompey's
success
against Mi-
thridates.

None seemed so dangerous as Pompey, who by different means had attained the same end as Sylla, having prevailed upon the people to invest him, freely and of their own accord, with an authority almost equal to that which this sanguinary dictator had usurped. Fortune still continued to smile on him ; for this year he got rid of Mithridates. The fugitive king was meditating greater projects than ever : he had collected together about sixty or fourscore thousand men ; and with this army he intended to force his way by land into Italy, through a hundred wild and barbarous nations. He was encouraged in his attempt by the example of Hannibal, who succeeded in the like enterprize : and perhaps he would have met with the same good fortune, had it not been for the revolt of his son Pharnaces, who laid siege to Panticapæum, where he then resided. This city opened her gates to the rebels, and Mithridates had no other resource than death, to avoid falling into their hands. In vain did he endeavour to destroy himself by poisonous draughts ; these had but a slow effect, because he had been used to counterpoisons from his infancy : he then had recourse to his sword, but as he was greatly weakened by the poison, the wound did not prove mortal : so that a Gaulish officer (*i*), out of compassion, and at his own request, put an end to his agonies.

Death of
Mithridates.

Pompey
marches in-
to Judæa,
and settles
that king-
dom.

When Pompey heard of this news, he happened to be in Judæa, whither he had marched his army, to settle the succession of that kingdom, which was disputed by two brothers, Hyrcan and Aristobulus. Hyrcan, as the elder, had the best right ; but Aristobulus was in possession. However, he did not possess it long, for Pompey seized his person, and marching directly to Jerusalem, made himself master of that city. He met with a very different resistance at the taking of the temple, which, as every body knows, was situated on a mountain,

(i) His name was *Bitatus* or *Dithacus*, and he had entered the king's room in search of booty.

and extremely well fortified. The siege of this place lasted three months, and was attended with an immense deal of labour and fatigue: the Jews themselves contributed not a little to the taking of it, by not disturbing the enemy's approaches on the sabbath; a superstitious piety, which nothing but the motive could render excusable. On the other hand, we admire the religious heroism of the priests, who being employed in the sacrifice at the time the temple was taken, did not divert their attention, but continued the sacred ceremonies with the same composure as if nothing had happened. Pompey's clemency and generous behaviour on this occasion, were also admired. Of all the treasure deposited in that temple, he took only the golden vine. Upon entering the most holy place, he expressed his surprize, when he could see never a statue, nor any representation of the deity: the next day he ordered it to be purified, and the priests to be restored to their functions. This visit from Pompey cost the Jews their liberty, for he not only rendered them tributary to the Romans, but forbade their prince Hyrcan to wear a diadem; besides, he stripped them of those towns which they had conquered in Syria.

691.

The remains of the conspiracy are stifled in Italy; and a great number of the accomplices are differently punished. Most of them had been informed against by L. Vettius, a Roman knight, who had the assurance to include Cæsar in the number. But he took a wrong time; for Cæsar was then prætor, and likewise *pontifex maximus*, which dignity he had obtained the preceding year: as prætor, he condemned Vettius in a fine, ordered his goods to be sold for the payment, and the man himself to be sent to prison. Much the same thing happened to one L. Tarquinius, who accused Crassus of having a hand in the conspiracy: his testimony was declared to be false, and he himself condemned to imprisonment, till he discovered the persons who were said to have suborned him. This might make one suspect there were people at that time, who might do whatever they pleased with impunity.

Cæsar, notwithstanding all his power, did not extricate himself so well in the dispute with Cato, tribune of the people, in regard to a law proposed by Metellus Nepos another tribune. The purport of it was to recall Pompey with his army, under pretence of reforming and pacifying the state; but in reality to supplant Cicero, of whose growing interest Cæsar was jealous. Cato opposed this law with his usual vigour; but Cæsar supported it by violence, and the former had like to have been killed in the tumult. He maintained his ground however with great resolution, and got the better of Metellus, the senate having deprived both him and Cæsar of their office: but they were soon reinstated, the latter by affecting to submit, and the former in consequence of Cato's recommendation.

Cæsar repudiates his wife Pompeia, who had been surprized at a meeting between her and P. Clodius in her husband's house, where

Clodius profanes the mysteries of the *bona dea*.

the mysteries of the *good goddess (f)* were to be celebrated that day. Divorces (*g*) were now grown frequent, in consequence of luxury and
a ge-

(*f*) The good goddess, in Latin *bona dea*, according to the Romans, was one of the dryads, and married to Faunus king of Italy. She is said to have been so very chaste, that no man ever saw her face, or knew her real name, except her husband; and that of Fauna was given to her afterwards, only because her husband's name was Faunus. That her name should be such a secret to the men, after being revealed to the women, is greatly in praise of the Roman ladies. To honour her extraordinary chastity, a particular festival was instituted, at which none but women were permitted to be present, or even in the house where the mysteries were celebrated, which was always at the chief priest's. When the husband, and with him every male creature, quitted the house, the wife then took it under her care, and set things in order: there were great solemnities all night, attended with dancing and several sorts of music. No myrtle was used to decorate this goddess's altars, because this tree was dedicated to Venus goddess of love. The pictures of male creatures were all covered, according to Juvenal, sat. 6.

—*Velari pictura jubetur,*

Quaecunque alterius sexus imitata figuram est.

The vestals were invited on the occasion, and the ceremony did not begin till night. By the *good goddess*, mythologists understand the *earth*; though the Romans might likewise mean an ancient queen of Italy, called *Fauna*; for most of the heathen deities had a double relation of this sort. It is therefore probable that Fauna was the inventress of agriculture, at least in Italy, and for that reason was called the *good goddess*, by way of preference. The Greeks had also their *good goddess*, whom they named *Gynecæa*: they pretended that she was one of Bacchus's nurses, whose real name it was unlawful to utter. For which reason the women, who celebrated her mysteries, covered the tents with vine branches, and a consecrated dragon was placed by the goddess. See *Plut. in Cæs. & quæst. Rom. Cic. erat. de barusp. responsis.*

(*g*) Romulus permitted the husbands to divorce their wives, but not vice versa; and even the former not without a cause, as adultery, poisoning, or counterfeiting her husband's keys, and, as some say, drunkenness. This law was confirmed by the twelve tables; yet there was no instance of a divorce till the case of Carvilius Ruga, mentioned in this history in the year 500. But afterwards they grew very common, and for very trifling motives, as in the case of Papiria, the wife of Paulus Æmilius. Thus C. Sulpitius Gallus turned away his wife, because she went abroad bare-headed; Q. Antistius Vetus turned away his, for keeping company with a woman of mean parentage; P. Sempronius Sophus did the same by his, because she went to the play without his knowledge. Val. Max. 6. 3. 10. And even Cicero himself divorced Publilia, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of his daughter Tullia. Others cast off their wives on the account of old age. Sometimes they parted by mutual consent. In process of time, women had also power to divorce their husbands, and for as trifling reasons as those now mentioned in regard to husbands. Thus Cælius writes to Cicero, *Paula Valeria divortium sine causa, quo die vir à provincia venturus erat, fecit. Nuptura est D. Bruto, ep. fam. 8. 7.* But by the *lex Papia Poppæa*, a *liberta*, that is, a woman who was once a slave, and had been made free, could not divorce her *patronus*, that is, her master who made her free, if she had been lawfully married to him. See *Ulp. L. ult. D. de divort.*

The common way of divorcing, was by sending a bill to the woman, containing reasons of the separation, and the tender of all her goods which she brought with her: this was called *repudium mittere*, or *nuncium remittere*. Or else it was performed in her presence before sufficient witnesses, which according to the *lex Julia de adulteriis* published by Augustus, were to be seven, besides a *libertus*. After the censors
were

a general corruption of manners: Pompey just upon his return to Italy, divorces also his wife Mucia (b), for being guilty of a criminal correspondence with Cæsar. The latter had so bad a reputation in regard to chastity, that he was *reported to be the husband of every wife, and the wife of every husband*. And yet he had the assurance to say, when he parted with his wife Pompeia, *that Cæsar's wife should not be so much as suspected*.

692.

Clodius's intrigue is attended with some consequences. Commissioners are appointed to try him, for profaning the holy rites, at which it was unlawful for any man to assist: he corrupts his judges with money, and by other methods still more criminal; so that he was acquitted in spite of Cicero's utmost endeavours. Clodius was a bad citizen, an enemy to the republic, and of course to Cicero. Pompey arrives in Italy.

Rome was now a prey to faction and intrigue. Men of the deepest penetration seemed to foresee that the commonwealth could not last much longer, or in other terms, that so unwieldy a body could hardly do without a head. In this critical juncture, Pompey stepped forth. The eyes of all the world were naturally turned towards this celebrated captain; they considered him in some measure as their long expected lord and master; they vied with each other in paying their court to him, as to the conqueror of the East; and even Cicero joined with the multitude. Though this celebrated orator had so greatly distinguished himself during his consulate; and though he still made a considerable figure in the senate, yet, in the opinion of the vulgar, Pompey was by far the greater man. Cicero uses his utmost endeavours to prevail on Pompey to approve of his consulate; but Pompey refuses to explain himself, and grows cool and reserved. And what is very extraordinary; at the very time that he could obtain whatever he pleased by honourable means, he purchased the consulate for Afranius, his favourite, who had no other merit than that of being a complete dancer. Cato alone withstood the torrent;

Pompey
returns to
Rome.

were made acquainted with the just causes of the divorce, the marriage tables were broke, the dowry was restored, the keys of the house were taken away, and the woman was turned out of doors. On which occasion were pronounced by the *libertus* these *solemnia verba*: *Res tuas tibi habeto, or tuas res tibi agito*, according to the following passage of Juvenal, sat. 6.

Collige sarcinulas, dicet libertus, et exi,

Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe emungaris, exi

Ocyus, et propere, siccus venit altera naso.

The *repudium* differed from the *divortium* in this, that the former was between parties only contracted, and the latter between married people. There was no occasion to shew a cause in the case of a *repudium*, nor was there any civil action for breaking the contract: the party only used this form, *tua conditione non utor*.

(b) Mucia was the third daughter of Q. Mucius Særvola, and sister to the two Metelli, Celer and Nepos. Pompey thought himself obliged to part with this lady, though he had three children by her. He never could forget the injury Cæsar had done him; but complained several times in the heat of the civil wars, that the debaucher of Mucia was his Ægyptus.

His third
triumph.

may, he refused the alliance of Pompey, who wanted his eldest niece for himself, and the youngest for his son. Pompey's third triumph. Africa and Europe had been the subject of the two first, and now Asia furnished him with this; "so that his victories, says M. Crevier, "seemed to embrace the whole world." The procession lasted two whole days, though it was not attended, as usual, by the triumphant army: for he had disbanded his troops as soon as he landed in Italy, to prevent all umbrage and suspicion in regard to his future conduct. Pompey's aim was to usurp the sovereign power, without having recourse to violence, that is, to derive his whole authority from the free choice of his fellow citizens; and no doubt but he flattered himself, that he should obtain every thing he desired, in return for his signal services. For he had almost trebled the revenue, and so greatly enlarged the republic, that Asia Minor, which before his time had been the furthest extent, was now become the center of her dominions.

693.

The first
triumvirate.

The first triumvirate. Pompey was mistaken: the Romans recovered from their first surprize; and being made easy by his disbanding the army, they looked upon him no longer but as a private citizen. He insisted that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the East should be confirmed without inquiry; but he miscarried in both, being opposed by Lucullus and Crassus his ancient rivals, and by Cato the scourge of all ambitious citizens. Finding he could not have the supreme command alone, he is reconciled to Crassus by the mediation of Cæsar; and they all three enter into an association, binding themselves by oath to support each other. Cato foresaw the evil consequences of this alliance, but could not prevent it: *we have lost our liberty, said he, there is an end of the republic.* Some perhaps will be surprized to behold Cæsar moving in so high a sphere, when he had hitherto made no great figure in the army: but the Romans were acquainted with his extraordinary abilities; they knew that he had burst out into tears at the sight of Alexander's statue (*k*); they knew of his declaring that he had rather be the first man in a small village (*l*), than the second in Rome. Besides, he had lately commanded as proprætor in Spain for the first time, where he gave a specimen of his abilities, having subdued several provinces which never before submitted to the Romans. Nothing hindered him from demanding a triumph, but his pretensions to the consulate. In standing

(*k*) Plutarch says, it was upon reading the history of Alexander, when he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst out into tears. His friends asking him the reason, *do you think*, said he, *that I have not just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I all this time have done nothing memorable?*

(*l*) This happened in his crossing the Alps in the way to his province of Spain.
for

for this office, it was necessary to appear at the comitium in person; but in suing for a triumph, the law obliged the candidate to halt without the town, and wait for an answer. Here he reaped the first ^{Caesar's} fruits of the triumvirate, being chosen consul for the following year, ^{sen} consul together with M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a zealous republican. His aim was to get one Luceius for his colleague, who with the same view distributed large sums among the people; but the senate joined in favour of Bibulus. Each of the conscript fathers paid his share towards outbidding Luceius; by which means they carried their point, and this even by Cato's advice, who said that the safety of the republic was preferable to her laws.

Caius Muræna, and the learned Varro, this year's ædiles, ordered the face of a wall, which was greatly admired for a most beautiful painting *in fresco*, to be transported from Sparta to Rome.

694.

The senate had entertained high expectations from Bibulus, and ^{Caesar's} perhaps he would have done great matters, had he to deal with any ^{great sway} other person than Caesar; but he could not long withstand his ^{in Rome.} ambitious colleague. The latter having proposed a new agrarian law, with a view of gaining the affections of the people, Bibulus found no other way to oppose him, than by declaring that every day during his consulate should be kept as a festival; but he was the only one himself that observed the declaration. Caesar began to govern Rome with an absolute sway: even Cato submitted to his power; though at first he had attempted to oppose him, at the peril of imprisonment or exile. But upon Cicero's telling him, *that if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato*, he thought proper to acquiesce. Caesar found no great difficulty in bringing the other two triumvirs over to his measures, by the following method. He married (p) his only

(p) For the greater security of marriages, the form of the contract was written upon tables of record, and sealed by some witnesses there present, who from thence were called *signatores*. No Roman could marry any other than a free denizen of the city. The *kalends*, *nones*, and *ides*, and the whole month of May, were reckoned ominous in regard to this ceremony. The three ways of contracting were *farre* or *confarreatione*, *coemptione*, and *usu*. The first was a ceremony of eating the bride cake together; the second was when the parties bound themselves by giving and taking a piece of money; the third was when, with the consent of her friends, the woman had lived a whole year with the man, without being absent three nights.

The nuptial ceremonies began with consulting the augurs, as was customary in all actions of importance. The word *nuptiæ* is from *nubo*, which signifies to *cover*, because the woman was brought to her husband with a *flammeum*, or yellow veil thrown over her face. In dressing the bride, they used to divide her locks with the head of a spear, as an omen of bearing a valiant and warlike offspring; then they crowned her with a chaplet of flowers. Instead of her ordinary cloaths, she wore the *tunica recta*, so called from being woven upwards; this was tied about with a *zona* or girdle, which the bridegroom was to unloose. Being thus dressed, she was taken away from her mother or next relation by a seeming violence, in memory of the success which Romulus and his

only daughter Julia, a lady of accomplished merit, to Pompey; Julia paid implicit submission to her father's will in every thing; Pompey was governed by Julia; and Crassus could not help acquiescing to the joint desire of the father and son-in-law. Cæsar resolved also to gain the favour of the knights, by abating a third part of the rents which they paid annually into the public treasury. He likewise got all Pompey's acts in the East approved, and obtained for himself the government of Illyricum, and of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, with the command of four legions for five years. In order to secure an interest among foreigners, he caused Ariovistus king of the Suevi (q) in Germany, and Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt, to be declared friends and allies of the people of Rome. All this he did even without consulting his colleague, whom he obliged to stay at home for eight months, during which time Bibulus did not perform one single act as a magistrate, which made Cicero say, *that this was the consulate of Julius and Cæsar*. Bibulus, notwithstanding his retirement, caused declarations to be published in Rome against the present tyranny, which began to be insufferable. The triumvirs themselves had oc-

followers had in the rape of the Sabine women. Towards night she was led to her husband's house (whence the common phrase *uxorem ducere*, to marry a wife) with five torches made of a pitchy liquor that issued from a tree called *tæda*; hence figuratively the poets give the name of *tædæ* to the wedding itself. A distaff and a spindle were likewise borne along with her, in memory of *Caia Cæcilia*, or *Tanaquil*, wife to *Tarquinius Priscus*, a famous spinster. On the same account the bride herself was called *Caia* during the ceremony. Being come to the door, she bound the posts with woollen lists, and anointed them over with oil, from which ceremony she was called *uxor quasi unxor*. Then the bridegroom lifted her over the threshold, and carried her by seeming force, because she could not in modesty appear to go without violence into a place where she was to lose her virginity.

Being thus brought home, she received the keys of her husband's house, and was presented by him with two vessels, one of fire, the other of water, as an earnest of sticking by one another in the greatest extremities. Then she and her companions were treated by the bridegroom at a splendid feast, which was seldom without music, the company all the while singing *Thalassius* or *Thalassio*, as the Greeks did *Hymen*, *Hymenæe*; for which this reason is alledged. At the rape of the Sabine women, some of the meaner sort carrying away one of the fairest of the sex, certain citizens would have taken her from them; upon which they pretended, that they were carrying her to one *Thalassius*, a person greatly honoured and esteemed, and so brought their prey off, the others accompanying her, and often crying *Thalassio*, *Thalassio*; and this proving a fortunate match, it became a custom at nuptials to call over *Thalassius*. At the same time the bridegroom threw nuts about the room for the boys to scramble, as a token to leave off their childish amusements, whence *nucibus relicis*. The marriage-bed was stiled *genialis lectus*, and sometimes *lectus adversus*, because they placed it in the court directly opposite the gate. As soon as it was got ready, the bridegroom loosed the bride's girdle; and a company of boys got together to sing a parcel of obscene verses, which were tolerated on this occasion. The next day after the marriage they gave a solemn entertainment, where the relations and friends of the married couple met to make merry. This they called *repotia*.

(q) The most ancient and most powerful people in Germany; their country extended from the Rhine to the Elbe, and contained several divisions, as the *Simones*, *Longobardi*, *Angli*, *Hermunduri*, mentioned by Tacitus in *Germ*. The *Hermunduri* inhabited that part of Germany which is now called *Saxonia*.

caſion

casion to be convinced of this, having been treated several times with disrespect at the public assemblies. The people conceived such a dislike against Pompey, that at the representation of a certain tragedy, when the actor came to a passage importing, *thou art become great only for our ruin*, they openly applied it to this triumvir, and clapping their hands, obliged the actor to repeat it several times. The triumvirs charged Cicero with being in great measure the cause of their present odium; and it is so far true, that he railed very severely against the state of affairs in one of his orations in defence of his ancient colleague Antonius. Cæsar knew how to be revenged: he got Clodius promoted to the tribunate for the ensuing year, and caused Cicero to be impeached, as if he had attempted the murder of Pompey. For this commission he chose that very same Vettius, who had been his accuser at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy: the calumny is detected, and Vettius condemned to imprisonment, where Cæsar causes him to be strangled, lest the affair should be discovered.

695.

Cæsar took care to secure his interest during this year's consulate, by marrying Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, before his departure from Rome, and by entering into the closest connections with Gabinius. The measures he took to remove Cicero and Cato, the two great champions of liberty, from Rome, were attended with success. Methods taken by Cæsar to secure his interest.

The tribune Clodius was the only person fit for so odious an enterprise: and accordingly he passed several laws, preparatory to his attack against Cicero. The first was that the corn, which had hitherto been sold very cheap to the poor citizens, should henceforward be distributed among them gratis. The second repealed the law against particular companies of tradesmen, which the senate had suppressed above nine years ago, as dangerous to the public tranquillity; and at the same time it established some new ones, which Clodius took care to fill with the dregs of the people. The third and fourth tended to diminish the power of the censors, and to increase the liberty of popular assemblies. The fifth gave the decisive blow, by condemning to banishment those who were concerned in the death of a citizen, without a lawful trial. It is plain that this aimed at the affair of the conspirators. Cicero goes into deep mourning; twenty thousand Roman knights follow his example; and the senate do the same by a public decree. The consuls publish an order for the senate to quit their mourning; Clodius arms the mob, and besets the forum. Cicero then had no other remedy left but to arm his friends, who were the most respectable part of the citizens; but the consequence would have been a civil war. Having viewed on the one hand the danger of the republic, on the other his own, he resolves to retire into banishment. However this must be said for him, that even if he had defeated Clodius, it would not have signified; for Cæsar was at the gates of Rome with his legions: so that the turbulent Clodius had good reason to say, *that Cicero must have perished once, or conquered twice.* Laws proposed by the tribune Clodius.
Clodius impeaches Cicero.

Cicero
retires into
banishment.

Cato reduces
Cyprus to a
Roman
province.

Scaurus's
theatre.

Curio's
theatre.

Cæsar goes
into Gaul.

twice. As soon as Cicero was gone, Clodius got the decree of his banishment passed: his effects were confiscated; his country houses, and his fine palace in Rome, were plundered and burnt to the ground. He retires to Thessalonica in Macedon, after he had been refused admittance into Sicily by Virgilius prætor of that island, on whom he depended. Clodius procures the government of Syria for the consul Gabinius, and that of Macedon for his colleague Piso, in order to requite them for the services they had done him in the affair of Cicero's banishment. He drives Cato out of Rome, by obliging him to accept of a commission, which was to dethrone the king of Cyprus, and reduce that island to a Roman province. This king was Ptolemy, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, both bastard sons of Ptolemy Lathurus, who died without legitimate issue, and was said to have made a will in favour of the Romans. Cato reaped no other glory from this scandalous expedition, than that of giving a faithful account of the spoils of an unfortunate prince; for Ptolemy, upon hearing of his approach, destroyed himself by poison.

Scaurus the ædile entertained the public with shows of so expensive and magnificent a nature, that Pliny thinks they were one of the chief causes of the general corruption of the age. To embellish a temporary theatre, which was to last only a month, he erected a hundred and sixty columns of the finest marble, the same number in crystal, and the same again in wood richly gilt; between the columns he placed three thousand statues of brass, with a prodigious multitude of valuable pictures. Though Scaurus was very rich, this great expence ruined him. Some years after this, Curio being desirous to distinguish himself in exhibiting public games, did something more extraordinary and less expensive, in order to proportion himself to the mediocrity of his fortune: *for*, as Pliny says, *he had no other patrimony than the trouble and confusion of the state*. He caused two moveable theatres to be built of wood, in the form of a semicircle. In the morning they were set back to back, and plays were acted on both at the same time; but neither the actors nor spectators could see or incommode one another: towards the latter end of the day they were put in their right position again, without displacing the company, so as to form a circular amphitheatre, where shows of gladiators were exhibited. A structure of such admirable artifice and contrivance, as to wheel this august assembly of the senate, knights, and people of Rome, round on hinges, must needs give us a high idea of the greatness of the undertaking.

Cæsar meditating the most ambitious projects, sets out for Gaul (r).
Sylla,

(r) *Gallia* or ancient Gaul was divided into *Cisalpina*, which, from the Roman dress, was also called *Togata*; and *Transalpina*, which was likewise named *Comata* from their wearing long hair, and *Braccata* from their wearing breeches. Cisalpine Gaul contained the most western and northern provinces of Italy, which in great part were possessed by the Gauls, and thence took the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, or *Citerior*, because

Sylla, after subduing Asia, made himself master of Rome at his return; and Pompey, the conqueror of the East, might have followed his

cause they lay on the side of the Alps next to Rome. It extended from the Alps and the river *Varus*, to the city of Ancona in the ancient Picenum; on the north it was divided from Rætia by the Alps, and from *Illyricum* by the river *Fornio*; and on the south it reached to the Ligustic sea, and the Apennines parting it from *Hetruria*: so that under the common name of Cisalpine Gaul were comprehended the Subalpine countries, *Liguria*, *Gallia Cispadana*, so called from lying on the side of the Po next to Rome, and *Gallia Transpadana*, which lay on the other side of the Po.

Gallia Transalpina, or proper Gaul, took up all the extent of ground between the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains; within which compass is now comprehended France, Lorrain, Savoy, with great part of Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. In Julius Caesar's time this country was divided into three parts, which were inhabited by the *Belgæ*, *Aquitani*, and *Celtæ*. The *Belgæ* spread far and wide between the Seine and the Rhine; the *Aquitani* inhabited Guienne and Gascony; the *Celtæ* were situated between the rivers Garonne and the Seine. But it was afterwards divided by Augustus into four parts or provinces, viz. *Gallia Narbonensis* or *Braccata*, *Aquitania*, *Celta* or *Lugdunensis*, and *Belgica*. The three last were likewise called *Gallia Cœnata*.

Gallia Narbonensis, so called from its chief city *Narbo*, Narbonne, lay on the Mediterranean sea; being bounded by the Alps, and the river *Varus*, from Italy; by the Pyrenean mountains from Spain; and by the river *Garonna*, Garonne, *Mons Gebenna*, Cevenne, and the river *Rhodanus*, Rhone, from *Gallia Aquitania*, and *Gallia Celtica*. So that it comprehended present Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Savoy. Its chief people were the *Allobroges* and *Centrones* in Savoy and part of Dauphiny; the *Segalauni*, *Vocontii*, and *Caturiges*, in Dauphiny; the *Carataci* and *Salyes*, in Provence; the *Ruteni* in Roverne; the *Gabali*, the *Helvii*, the *Pelæ Tectosagi* and *Arcomici* in Languedoc.

Gallia Aquitania was situated between *Gallia Narbonensis*, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the river *Ligeris*, or Loire, by which it was separated from *Gallia Celtica*. So that it contained the government of Guienne, with as much of the governments of Orleannois, and Lionnois, as lies on the south and west sides of the Loire. Its chief people were the *Ausci*, *Turbelli*, and *Bigerriones* in Gascony; the *Bituriges*, *Pisibisci*, *Vasates*, *Cadurei*, *Petricorii*, *Lemovices*, and *Santonæ* in Guienne; the *Pictones* in Poitou; the *Bituriges* and *Cubi* in Bresse; the *Arverni* in Auvergne, and the *Bosi* in Marche.

Gallia Celtica, called also *Lugdunensis* from its chief city *Lugdunum*, now Lyons, was situate between the Ocean and the three rivers, *Ligeris*, Loire, *Sequana*, Seine, and *Matrona*, Marne, the two last dividing it from *Belgica*: so that it contained present Bretagne and Normandy, as much of the government of Orleannois as lies north and east of the Loire, as much of the ile of France and Champagne as lies south of the Seine and Marne, with the greatest part of the dutchy of Burgundy, and some of the government of Lionnois. Its chief people were the *Osismi*, *Veneti*, *Nannetes*, *Redones*, and *Curioselites* in Bretagne; the *Unelli* and *Lexebii* in Normandy; the *Aulerci*, *Eburovices*, *Diablintæ*, and *Conomani* in Maine; the *Carnutes* in Beauce; the *Turones*, in Tourain; the *Andegavi* in Anjou; the *Segusiani* in the government of Lyons; the *Ædui* in the dutchy of Burgundy; the *Tricassi* and *Senones* in Champagne; the *Parisi* in the ile of France.

Gallia Belgica lay between the Rhine, the Rhone, the Marne, the Seine, and the Ocean; consequently comprehended as much of present Normandy, ile of France, and Champagne, as is on the north and east of the Seine and Marne, the county of Burgundy, the greatest part of Switzerland, all Lorrain and the Austrian Netherlands, with as much of the United Netherlands as lies south of the old channel of the Rhine, passing by Utrecht and Leyden, and as much of present Germany as lies west of the Rhine. Its chief people were the *Caletes* and *Pelocassi* in Normandy; the *Ambiani*,

He defeats
the Helve-
tians.

And the
Suevi under
Ariovistus.

his example. Cæsar resolved not only to tread in the same path as those great men, but to advance a step further; that is, he did not chuse to imitate the imprudence of the one, nor the moderation of the other; his design was to conquer Gaul, to bring back his victorious bands into Italy, to subvert the republic, and to raise himself upon its ruins. An occasion for going to war was ready to his hands: the Helvetii (s) having threatened to invade Gaul (r), Cæsar breaks down the bridge of Geneva, over which they intended to pass, and gains his first victory on the banks of the Arar (u), where he falls upon their rear just as they were passing that river; then throwing a bridge over it, he pursues them for several days. A bloody battle is fought, in which the Helvetii lose one half of their army; but after giving hostages, they return to their own country. Gaul being thus delivered from the invasion, is exposed to a fresh danger from the Suevi, who had passed the Rhine under the command of their king Ariovistus. Cæsar sends a message to him to retire; upon his refusing, an engagement ensues, in which Ariovistus is defeated, and obliged to repass the Rhine. After this, the Roman general puts his troops into winter quarters in the country of the Senones (x), and returns to Cisalpine Gaul, which was part of his government.

696.

Cicero
recalled.

Cicero is recalled. The preceding year the senate had made a resolution to pass no decree, till the affair of Cicero's recall was determined; and this resolution was attended with a total cessation of business. All Italy wished for his return; and at length Pompey, having received an affront from Clodius, thought proper to join with Cicero's friends. The point was voted at first by the senate, and afterwards by the people, notwithstanding the opposition of Clodius, who had taken up arms to maintain his cause. Cicero was so greatly pleased with the demonstrations of esteem and satisfaction attending his recall, that he said, were he to consider only his own glory, he would not have avoided, but rather courted the injuries he suffered from Clodius. And indeed his return to Rome was a triumphant

Ambiani, Veromandui, Bellovaci, Sueffiones and Sylvanetæ in Picardy; the *Rhemi Catalauni*, and *Lingones*, in Champagne; the *Sequani* in the county of Burgundy; the *Helvetii* and *Rauraci* in Switzerland proper; the *Treboeci* in Alsace; the *Nemetes* in the bishopric of Spire; the *Vangiones* in the electorate of Mentz; the *Treviri* in that of Triers; the *Ubii* in that of Cologne; the *Tungri* in Liege, Limburg, and Luxemburg; the *Mediomatrices* and *Leuci* in Lorrain; the *Batavi* in South Holland and part of Guelderland; the *Menapii* in Guelderland and Brabant; the *Nervii* in Hainault; the *Morini* in Flanders, and north-west of Picardy; the *Atrebates* in Artois; the *Taxandri* in Zealand.

(s) The chief towns of the Helvetii were *Aventicum*, Avances; *Turigum*, Zurich; *Tugium*, Zug; *Urba*, Orbe.

(r) That is *Gallia Narbonnensis*, as this part of the country was afterwards called.

(u) Now the *Saone*.

(x) Their chief town was *Agendicum*, now *Sens*.

entry;

entry; deputies from all quarters came to congratulate him; sacrifices were offered in thanksgivings, and festivals were solemnized in his praise; the senate and people went forth to meet him: and to express myself in his own phrase, *Rome seemed to start from her foundations, to come and embrace her preserver*. He was restored to the possession of his effects, and his houses both in the city and country were rebuilt at the public expence. Soon after this, he procured for Pompey the commission of supplying the city with corn and provisions, with an unlimited power in all the sea-port towns, during the space of five years. Yet Cicero had no reason to be very well pleased with that triumvir, who had sacrificed him to the fury of his enemies; but that orator was more apt to remember favours than injuries. The zealous patriots complained of his investing Pompey once more with nearly the same absolute power, as had been formerly conferred on that general in the war with the pirates. But Pompey put an end to the scarcity, with which the Romans had been long afflicted, in consequence of the bad administration of the provinces, from whence the city used to receive her supplies of corn.

Death of Lucullus, who had lost his intellects some time before.

Death of
Lucullus.
Cæsar marches against
the Belgæ.

Great motions in Belgic Gaul. The Belgæ, chiefly of German original, were the haughtiest and most warlike people in Gaul: they were greatly displeased with having the Romans for their near neighbours; and being jealous of Cæsar's designs, they resolved to be before hand with this general. The beginning of this very spring they had an army of three hundred thousand men on foot. Cæsar had but eight legions, reckoning the reinforcements he was bringing with him from Cisalpine Gaul: but the enemy's numbers did not dismay him; for he well knew their levity. He defeats them in their passage over the Axona (y); upon which they disperse, and return every one to his own country. This step hastened their ruin, for Cæsar pursues them, attacks each nation separately, and makes a great slaughter. He had already received the submission of the Rhemi (x) upon his arrival, and he reduced the Sueffiones (a), the Bellovaci (b), and the Ambiani (c). But he met with a greater resistance from the Nervii (d), who inhabited the country between the Scaldis and the Sabis (e). They had joined the Atrebatæ (f) and the Veromandui (g) their neighbours, and were prepared to give a proper reception to the Roman army. Bloody battle on the banks of the

His successor
against
them.

(y) Now the *Aisne*.

(x) Their chief town, *Durocortorum*, now Rheims.

(a) Their chief town, *Augusta Sueffionum*, now Soissons.

(b) Their chief town, *Cæsaromagus*, now Beauvais.

(c) Their chief town, *Samarobriga*, now Amiens.

(d) Their chief towns, *Bagaicum*, Bavay; and *Camberacum*, Cambray.

(e) Now the *Schelde* and the *Sambre*.

(f) Their chief town, *Nemetacum*, Arras.

(g) Their chief town, *Augusta Veromanduerum*, Vermandois.

Sabis,

Sabis, where the Romans, after a hard contest, at length obtained the victory. The next thing they did was to attack the Aduatici, who are supposed to have inhabited the banks of the Meuse in the neighbourhood of Namur. These people resolve to defend themselves in their capital. Frightened at the sight of the military machines which Cæsar was erecting to batter the town in breach, they pretend to surrender, but afterwards attempt to surprize the Romans. Cæsar, in punishment for this treachery, sells them all for slaves.

While the Roman general was extending his conquests in Belgium, P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, had met with very extraordinary success in Celtic Gaul, where he subdued all the maritime coast from the mouth of the Sequana (c) to that of the Ligeris (d).

Honours
paid to Cæsar
at Rome.

Cæsar spends the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, as he had done the preceding year, under pretence of going the circuit, and administering justice, according to the custom of Roman magistrates. But his real motive was to be where he could watch the intrigues of his enemies at Rome, and support his interest with the citizens, which since his late conquests was prodigiously increased. *Supplications*, or solemn thanksgivings, in honour of Cæsar, are ordered for fifteen days, a greater number than had been ever granted to any other general: and commissioners are appointed to settle the state of his conquests with him, a favour seldom granted till after the conclusion of a war.

697.

Renewal of
the trium-
virate.

Renewal of the triumvirate. Cæsar has an interview with Crassus at Ravenna, and with Pompey at Luca, to strengthen their confederacy. It is agreed among them, that Pompey and Crassus shall stand for a second consulate, and that the command of the army in Gaul shall be continued to Cæsar for five years, with the title of pro-consul. There was now an end of liberty; even Cicero, to avoid a second banishment, was obliged to commend Cæsar before the senate, and to vote for continuing him in the government of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. He owns himself, that this was a very great mortification to him; and that it would have been greatly to his honour, if he could have copied the example of the poet Philoxenus, who chose rather to be sent to prison by Dionysius of Syracuse, than to praise some verses of that tyrant's composing. Thus Cicero, who had so often braved death in the defence of his country, had not the resolution to run the risk of a second exile in the same cause; and the reason is plain, he was less afraid of death than of banishment. The former would have filled up the measure of his glory: whereas, to be sentenced as a criminal is attended with some infamy; at least in the opinion of our cotemporaries, who in general are not so capable as the next generation, of judging impartially of our actions. Cæsar returns with the utmost expedition to Celtic Gaul, where his good fortune furnished him

Cæsar
continues
his conquests
in Gaul.

(c) Now the Seine.

(d) Now the Loire.

with

with a fresh opportunity of extending his conquests. The storm burst first on the Veneti (e), who brought it upon themselves by daring to revolt, and by retaining the Roman knights, that had been sent into their province to demand provisions. These people are defeated by D. Brutus in a sea engagement, which Cæsar, who had marched against them in person, beheld from the shore. They are obliged to surrender at discretion; but Cæsar thought fit to act with severity, and sell them for slaves. Q. Titurius Sabinus, another of Cæsar's lieutenants, obtains a complete victory over the Unelli (f): the Eburonvices (g), and the Lexovii (h), allies of the Veneti. Crassus the younger subdues the Aquitani: and though the season was far spent, Cæsar was desirous of reducing the Morini (i) and the Menapii (k), inhabitants of the North of Gaul, who were also leagued with the Veneti; but the winter prevented him.

The famous Mark Antony, afterwards triumvir, served this year under Cæsar, to whose interest he was attached: he had already acquired a considerable reputation in the Ægyptian war, undertaken by the proconsul Gabinus, governor of Syria, with a view of restoring Ptolemy Auletes to his kingdom, from whence he had been driven by his own subjects for his irregular conduct. Gabinus was an avaricious man, who entered into this war without any commission from the republic, and merely with an intent to squeeze large sums out of the unfortunate Ptolemy; but at his return he was condemned for extortion. The whole honour of the victory belonged to Mark Antony, to whom Gabinus had given the command of the cavalry. Mark Antony serves under Cæsar.

At Rome Cicero is insulted by Clodius's faction: Clodius was at that time ædile, and under pretence of some answer of the aruspices explained in his own manner, he wanted to pull down the palace, which that illustrious orator had rebuilt in the city. Cicero is supported by his friend Milo, who puts Clodius and his adherents to flight. A violent riot at the comitia on the electing new consuls. The tribune M. Porcius Cato, who sided with Pompey and Crassus, protests against holding the assemblies, and throws the republic into an interregnum. At length Pompey and Crassus are chosen by means of Cæsar's intrigues, with whom they had had a conference at Luca. Their new conspirators stuck at nothing, whether treachery or open force, to attain their ends. By the same methods they excluded Cato from the prætorship, whose aim in standing for this office was merely to oppose their tyranny. They likewise obtained the governments of Syria and Spain for five years; the former fell to Crassus, the latter Pompey and Crassus chosen consuls a second time.

(e) Their chief town, *Vindana*, Vannes.

(f) Their chief town, *Giociatonum*, Carentan.

(g) Their chief town, *Mediolanum*, Evreux.

(h) Their chief town, *Noviomagus*, Lisieux.

(i) Their chief towns, *Tervanna*, Tervanne; *Castellum Morinorum*, Cassel; *portus Gesse-riacus qui et Illus*, now Boulogne.

(k) Their chief town, *Castellum Menapiorum*, Kassel.

Cæsar continued in the command of Gaul. to Pompey. Cæsar is also continued in the government of Gaul for five years.

678.

Imprudent conduct of Pompey and Crassus.

But Pompey and Crassus were both hurrying to their destruction. Pompey behaved imprudently in raising a formidable rival against himself, or rather in making him his master, by continuing Cæsar in command for five years, which must strengthen his power beyond all possibility of being shaken, and give him an opportunity of gathering an immense number of laurels. Crassus, on the other hand, was no sooner nominated to the government of Syria, than he entered into a wild project of waging war against the Parthians, in which he met with all the bad success that the tribune Ateius Capito had wished him. This man finding he could not succeed so as to prevent his departure, had recourse to *imprecations*, which according to the superstitious notions of the Romans, were to bring down heavy calamities on the person against whom those curses were levelled, as well as on him that uttered them (*p*).

Pompey's theatre.

Pompey never so much as attempted to set foot in his government of Spain, for it would have been contrary to his design of continuing to exercise an unlimited authority in Rome; and, therefore, though it was an unprecedented thing, he thought proper to administer his province by his lieutenants, while he busied himself with conciliating the benevolence of the Romans by public games and spectacles. The shows he gave at the dedication of a new theatre of his own constructing, were so magnificent, that, according to Cicero, the grandeur of the solemnity spoiled all the gaiety of it. The theatre here mentioned was a *fixed* one, the first of the kind (*q*), and large enough to hold forty thousand persons. The only good thing that Pompey and Crassus did during their consulate, was to introduce a better order in the chusing of judges. They passed likewise a law against bribery; but it was laughed at, because every body knew that they practised it openly themselves. Their conduct was still more ridiculous in proposing a third law for reforming the luxury of entertainments, which they both carried to a very high pitch; but they could not get it passed.

Cæsar obtains advantages over the Germans.

Cæsar obtains further advantages, not against the Gauls, for they were too much intimidated by their late defeats to give him any disturbance, but against the Usipites and the Tenchteri, a people of Germany, who had been driven from thence by their neighbours the Suevi, and wanted to settle on the banks of the Rhine. The proconsul coming up with them, obtains a complete victory, and passes that river himself upon a wooden bridge, which had been built by his

He builds a bridge over the Rhine.

(*p*) Lucan, lib. 3. says—*Crassumque in bella secuta—sternit iribunitiæ moverunt prælia diræ.*

(*q*) Tacitus takes notice, that Pompey was censured for this innovation: the ruins of this theatre are still to be seen at Rome.

orders in ten days. He was fond of opportunities to distinguish himself; so that perhaps this enterprize might have been as much owing to the desire of fame, as to any hopes he had of deriving a real advantage from it. What confirms this suspicion, is that after he had received the submission of some of the neighbouring nations, he made haste back to Gaul, broke down his bridge, and immediately set about an expedition into Britain, to which it does not appear that he could have any other motive than the desire of spreading the terror of his name in this island, as he had lately done in Germany. He landed His expedition to Britain. safe in Britain, notwithstanding the opposition of the inhabitants, whom he vigorously repulsed. But he was able to undertake nothing further, for want of his cavalry, who were prevented by tempestuous weather from joining him; he therefore reembarked his forces, after making the islanders promise to send him over hostages into Gaul, a promise they took care not to observe. Such was the fruit of an expedition, which, as he had foreseen, did him infinite honour at Rome; for the senate, on this occasion, decreed public thanksgivings to the gods for twenty days.

699.

Something might have been expected from the new consuls, if there was any possibility of saving the republic; but it was lost, it was undone. Pompey, under pretence of executing the commission of supplying the capital with provisions, kept several legions at the gates of Rome. In the East, Crassus commanded a formidable army, which he was going to lead against the Parthians; and Cæsar in the West, was finishing the conquest of Gaul, with a view to enslave his own country. Hence not only the consul Ænobarbus, who was an avowed enemy to Pompey and Crassus, but Cato, who at length obtained the prætorship, were obliged to submit to the oppression of the triumvirs. Yet Cato got a law passed against bribery, and in consequence thereof was greatly insulted by the populace, who made a trade of selling their votes. Crassus was successful at first against the Parthians, having reduced several of their cities in Mesopotamia; but all of a sudden these fine blossoms were blasted by his avarice. He retired to Antioch, Crassus's avarice and success. where he shewed himself a worthy successor of Gabinus, by oppressing the Syrians. Not satisfied with robbing private people, he ransacked a great many famous temples, and made a journey to Judæa, only to plunder that of Jerusalem.

Cæsar was attaining his end by nobler means, knowing that riches would not be wanting, where power abounded: therefore persisting in his design to distinguish himself by military exploits, he undertook a second expedition into Britain, which he was desirous of adding to his conquests; and after a very slight resistance, Cæsar's second expedition to Britain. he subdued the greatest part of the island. Cassivellaunus (r), lord of

(r) Cassibelan, king of the Trinobantes, the inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex, was intrusted by the other princes with the conduct of the war.

A general
insurrection
in Gaul.

Cæsar
defeats the
Gauls.

a territory situate on the banks of the 'Tamisis (*u*), twenty leagues from the sea, was the only person that distinguished himself on that occasion, by refusing to admit the Romans into his dominions (*x*). Cæsar at his return to Gaul, is obliged to distribute his troops into different quarters, in consequence of a famine which ravaged the country. The Gauls take advantage of this circumstance to fall upon the Roman legions in separate quarters. Sabinus and Cotta, Cæsar's lieutenant generals, are attacked and defeated by Ambiorix king of the Eburones (*y*). Q. Cicero, the orator's brother, would have run the same risk, if he had not been seasonably assisted by Cæsar, who defeated sixty thousand of the enemy, though he had with him only seven thousand Romans. This gallant behaviour kept the other provinces in awe. The 'Treviri (*z*) indeed began to move under the command of Induciomarus their chief; but he was killed in an engagement, and his head was brought to the Roman general. Cæsar takes up his winter quarters in Gaul, to prevent the consequences of the revolt. The reason why the Gauls did not avail themselves of his absence in Britain, to rise up in arms, was because he had taken the chief of their nobility with him as hostages.

700.

Interregnum.

The tribune Quintus Mucius Sævola having raised many difficulties at the comitia for electing new consuls, where the candidates had all recourse to barefaced bribery, the republic was fallen into an interregnum: this lasted till the month of July, by the intrigues of Pompey, who endeavoured in the present anarchy to be created dictator. At length Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Valerius Messala, were chosen consuls by open bribery; so that the evil, which Sævola wanted to prevent, was only delayed, being grown inevitable.

Defeat, and
death of
Crassus.

This year concludes the seventh century of Rome, and is remarkable for an event that proved fatal to the republic. This was the intire defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, a nation with whom the Romans had no quarrel; neither had Crassus any commission to begin the war. But his avarice would not permit him to make this reflection; and so great was his presumption,

(*u*) The river 'Thames.

(*x*) According to Cæsar's account, Cassibelan attacked the Romans, but was repulsed: the next day the Britons fell upon three Roman legions, and were defeated. After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, and passed it just above Walton, when the Trinobantes submitted to the Romans. Cæsar takes the chief town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulamium, now St. Albans; and soon after Cassibelan sues for peace, and obtains it. Tacitus says, that this Roman general rather shewed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it. Pliny tells us, that Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, offered to Venus a breast-plate enriched with British pearls, as a trophy of his conquests in this island.

(*y*) A people of the country of Liege beyond Brabant; their chief town *Atuatica*, now *Tongres*.

(*z*) Their chief town, *Augusta Trevirorum*, Triers.

that

that he despised the powerful succours offered him by Artabazus king of Armenia, an ally of the Romans; and to complete his misfortune, he blindly followed the treacherous advice of Abgarus king of Edessa in Osrhoene. This prince, having held a private correspondence with the Parthians, went to the Roman camp, and easily made Crassus believe that the enemy, struck with the terror of his name, only upon entering Mesopotamia, were flying before him with the utmost precipitation, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to come up with them. Upon this intelligence, Crassus marched his army into the sandy plains, in pursuit of a prey which he looked upon as certain. After a long and painful march, he arrived within sight of the Parthians; who instead of flying from the Romans, advanced against them with a numerous and well-disciplined cavalry. The battle began with a shower of arrows, which the Parthians discharged so dexterously, that they pierced through the bucklers of the Romans, tore their bodies, and in short did terrible execution. Crassus advanced against the enemy, who betook themselves to flight, only to do more mischief; for they shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they stood their ground. What could the Romans do in this situation, being chiefly infantry, and accustomed to close fighting. Young Crassus, who served under his father in this unfortunate expedition, made a bold push at the head of a few cohorts, and came up with the Parthians, who had faced about, and were ready to receive him: after performing extraordinary feats, he is defeated, dangerously wounded, and obliged to one of his attendants for putting an end to his life: several other officers of distinction also kill themselves through despair. Night puts a stop to the slaughter, and the remains of the Roman army make their escape to *Carræ (r)*; whither they are pursued by the enemy. Crassus being invited to a conference by Surenas the Parthian general, is forced, by the mutiny of his own soldiers, to accept of the proposal; which was exposing himself to certain death. Surenas's intention was to take him prisoner, but Crassus putting himself in a posture of defence, is killed sword in hand, and almost all his attendants meet with the same fate. We are obliged to give some share of praise to the Roman general, at the same time that we acknowledge him deserving of the heaviest censure. Nothing can be more heroical than his stifling his grief, upon the news of his son's death, for fear of dismaying the army; and the speech he made to his attendants, when the troops obliged him to deliver himself up into the hands of Surenas: *wherever your better fortune shall chance to place you, be sure to say that Crassus perished by the treachery of his enemies, and not by the shameful behaviour of his own men.*

In Gaul, Cæsar only waited for the spring to take the field. After raising two new legions in Italy, and borrowing a third from Pompey, ^{Cæsar's exploits in Gaul.}

(r) A city of Mesopotamia, by the Hebrews called *Charran*, now *Heren*.

to repair the losses of the preceding year, he ravages the country of the Nervii, who threatened a revolt. Then he convenes the states of Gaul at *Lutetia* (x), and immediately marches against the Senones, who had refused to send their deputies to that assembly. Acco their chief being surprized, they submit, and send hostages to Cæsar. The Carnutes (a), who had also taken up arms, make a proper submission. Cæsar's intention at first was to march directly against the Eburones, in order to exterminate that nation, in revenge for Sabinus and Cotta's defeat; but he found upon reflexion, that it would be more advisable to begin with reducing the *Treviri* and the *Menapii*, allies of those people. Accordingly he marches against the latter, and laying waste their country, obliges them to submit. As to the *Treviri*, he found, upon his arrival, that they had been subdued by one of his lieutenants; therefore having nothing further to do in that country, he determined to pass the Rhine a second time, in order to prevent the Germans from lending succours to Ambiorix and the Eburones. This expedition was short; the Suevi, against whom his motions were principally intended, withdrew to their forests upon his approach; and Cæsar apprehending he should want provisions in a country almost uncultivated, returned in great haste to Gaul. He did not break down the new bridge, which he had thrown over the Rhine, but let it stand nearly intire, except the part towards the enemy's territory; and on the other side of the river he erected a wooden tower, with a strong retrenchment for eight cohorts. At length he enters the country of the Eburones, and lays it waste; but Ambiorix escapes his most diligent inquiries, so that he wreaks his vengeance upon Acco, chief of the Senones, on whom he passes sentence of death, and sees it executed. This done, he spends the winter in Cisalpine Gaul, that he might be within reach of Rome, where he had business of the utmost importance to manage.

He passes
the Rhine a
second time.

He passes
sentence of
death upon
Acco.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE magnificence of thrones is demolished by the Romans; the pride of sceptres is humbled, and the mightiest monarchs pay their obeisance to these bold republicans. Rome is arrived to a pitch of grandeur, that has been the admiration of all ages. But from what cause can this admiration proceed? What good have the Romans done to mankind? Was it not by fire and sword that they opened themselves a passage to the extremities of the earth? And were not their victorious armies employed in distressing innocent nations, and continually wading through rivers of blood?

(x) Cæsar calls it *Lutetia Parisiorum*; this is Paris, the metropolis of France.

(a) Their chief towns, *Autricum*, Chartres; and *Genabum*, Orleans.

Let us be ingenuous : power seems to include an idea of grandeur, because it is the foundation of prerogative. Alexander for many ages was considered as one of the greatest men that ever lived, for no other reason than that he was one of the most powerful ; just as the vulgar are apt to look upon the lion as the king of beasts, because he is endued with the greatest ferocity.

There were times when all mankind thought like the vulgar ; but it is our good fortune that those times are no more. Philosophy, true philosophy, has dispelled the glory of conquerors, pulled down the trophies of barbarous ages, broke their crowns, and blasted their laurels.

Still the Romans appear great in our eyes ; but it is because of their love of glory, their prudence, their intrepidity, their constancy in adversity, their moderation in prosperity (whatever principle it flowed from) ; in short, it is because of their respect for religion and laws, their frugality, temperance, and purity of manners, virtues for which that nation was so long distinguished. For we must not confound ideas : humanity and a vein of politeness are inconsistent with barbarousness ; but the same cannot be said in regard to the more rigid virtues.

What other occupation can barbarous nations find out for themselves than agriculture and war ? They work no longer than is absolutely necessary to procure a subsistence, and to recruit their bodily strength : and then they employ it against the very end for which it was bestowed, that is, in endeavouring to destroy the rest of their species. There are several branches of agriculture, which it is impossible for them to know. The mere necessities of nature, are all they desire ; every thing else is a superfluity, an article of luxury no way suitable to their situation. War therefore becomes their chief employment ; but as this cannot be rightly conducted without military virtues, among which we must certainly rank exact discipline and severity of manners, the latter is sometimes carried among those barbarous nations to a degree of ferocity.

This severity was long a favourite virtue of the Romans : but it afterwards abated gradually in proportion to their conquests, and the increase of their power, till at length under the government of the emperors, they were become the most corrupt, the most abject, and contemptible of all nations. The causes of so great a change are not difficult to discover.

The first seems to me to be general to every nation, the others appear more particular to the Romans.

Mankind improve in elegance of manners, according to the opportunities they have of communicating with each other : take away this social intercourse, and they will all become barbarians. This holds equally good in regard to intire nations ; which indeed are civilized by connexions with others more polite than themselves. The charms of politeness and humanity are of so powerful a nature, that wherever they are displayed, they captivate

the mind, and oblige those people, that are even of the most savage disposition, to submit to the agreeable yoke. After Greece was conquered by the Romans, she subdued those rough warriors in her turn, by communicating the liberal arts: *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio*, says Horace in his epistle to Augustus.

This change operates insensibly; for mankind do not pass suddenly from extreme ferocity to the opposite extreme of moderation and humanity. Brutal savage men will begin with shewing themselves only rough and severe; by degrees they will arrive at the just medium; and become remarkable at length for their politeness and purity of manners. But it is possible also in process of time, that their minds will be too much softened, and their ancient discipline be corrupted. This was what happened to the Romans in the age we have been last describing; with this difference however, that they were grown a corrupt people, though their manners were not intirely softened. The reason of this we must explain.

After the destruction of Carthage, the Romans flew from conquest to conquest, and from most of their victories they reaped even more treasure than glory: or to express myself properly, they soon accustomed themselves to measure the glory of their generals, by the riches which they displayed at their triumphs. These were either the spoils of conquered nations, called *triumphal gold*; or the monies arising from the sale of prisoners of war, and then they took the name of *captive gold* (*aureum captivum, captiva pecunia*). But it was not enough for those proud conquerors to despoil their enemies, they would likewise be crowned by the hands of their rivals, whom they had humbled and subdued. No longer were they contented with plain laurels, they insisted upon having crowns of gold. *Triumphal crowns*, says Festus, are such as are given to victorious generals; they were formerly of laurel, but now they are of gold. Julius Cæsar alone received on different occasions eighteen hundred of these crowns, which, according to Appian, weighed all together above twenty thousand pound weight. And this honorary crown, which in the beginning was a free gift, degenerated afterwards into a tribute or tax; for Dion observes, that Augustus gained the affections of the people of Italy, by releasing them from the obligation of furnishing the gold, which was used for triumphal crowns. Spartian also takes notice, that Adrian was greatly commended for discharging Italy from the same heavy burden, and for diminishing it in the provinces.

Thus almost the whole wealth of the known world was poured of a sudden into Rome, where it did the greatest mischief. The Romans having been always in poverty before, and intirely unacquainted with the just and lawful means of acquiring riches, could have no knowledge of their right use. Every citizen, like another Lucullus, looked upon his wealth as the spoils of barbarians, whom by the laws of war he could insult with impunity. Hence came that bad policy of suddenly abolishing all taxes; hence those largesses and distributions
among

among the people; that prodigality in public shows; that profusion in entertainments; and that unbounded luxury which gradually infected the several orders of the commonwealth.

Among a people incapable of acquiring riches by any other than lawful means, there is no objection against paying a certain degree of honour and respect to the opulent. Nay, it is right it should be so; because it is to be presumed, that their wealth is the fruit of industry and abilities, as nobility is supposed to be the hereditary reward of virtue. But in a nation destitute of arts, commerce, and industry, where opulence can arise, if so I may express myself, from no other source than villany and injustice, there is an end of all government, if riches are honoured; and this was the misfortune of the Romans. The splendor of those citizens, who sold their suffrages at an extravagant price; of those warriors, who converted the contributions and spoils of the enemy to their own private use; of those magistrates, who artfully inclined the balance to the side of bribery and corruption; of those publicans, who were so dextrous in multiplying their rights and pretensions in infinitum; of those intriguing men, who raised great estates out of the spoils of their creditors; of those governors of provinces, who under a thousand pretences had devoured the substance of the people committed to their care; this splendor, I say, imposed on the rude multitude, who had very little notion of solid virtue. They looked upon all this pageantry as honourable, and worthy of their esteem; which soon obliged them to pay submission to the great, because power is generally the concomitant of riches.

Such prodigious alterations in the notions and manners of the Romans, must needs have produced as great a change in their character. That boldness, that majesty which they had displayed on so many occasions, were suddenly lost. Those men who never spoke but to give laws to the universe, were now become more disposed to receive laws themselves from the first fellow citizen, that had resolution enough to despoil them of their liberty, or money to purchase it. No longer had they any interest in sacrificing themselves for the public good, since all consideration and regard were paid to those, who studied only how to plunder, oppress, and destroy their country. A nation cannot be free without virtue; of which the Romans were now intirely void, since it was no longer either honoured or rewarded. Public spirit gave way to private interest; and the love of freedom to slavery.

Not that this people had ever any inclination to servile dependence, a state the most mortifying to human nature, and most contrary to its general privileges; but this exorbitant wealth, this sudden and unjust acquisition, had produced the most unbounded luxury, which in its turn gave rise to an insatiate desire of riches. They hardly knew any other glory, than that of hoarding at the expence of justice, humanity, and honour: their character sensibly degenerated: by degrees they became mean and cringing, ready to barter their

their liberty for money ; ready to prostitute the greatest panegyrics upon their tyrants ; ready, in short, to invest Cæsar with an absolute power over the chastity of all the women of Rome, &c.

Though they lost the republican, they did not lose the military spirit : only the motive was changed. Heretofore they had fought for the glory and majesty of the empire ; but now to serve the ambition of a fellow citizen, most capable of enriching his soldiers. “ Sylla, “ says M. de Montesquieu, corrupted the army ; and they after- “ wards corrupted their generals : by distributing the forfeited “ estates, he made his soldiers rapacious : the example was followed “ by succeeding commanders, who were sure to embrace every “ opportunity of enriching their armies with the spoils of their “ fellow citizens.” Hence it is easy to perceive why the Romans should grow so corrupt, without becoming more polite. Tired of ravaging the world, or rather finding no longer a world to ravage, they turned their arms against their own bowels. Possessed with an insatiable thirst after riches, they cut one another’s throats for the melancholy spoils of the human species. As they did not change their barbarous disposition, how was it possible for their manners to be polished ?



EIGHTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 701.

Before Christ 53.

POMPEY's credit and authority were arrived to such a pitch, that Pompey's after a long interregnum, owing to the intrigues and violent authority proceedings of the candidates, he was chosen consul for this year, and influence with a power however of choosing to himself a colleague at Rome. at the end of two months, if he thought proper. The public affairs must have been in a most terrible situation, since this unprecedented election was approved of by Cato, and by the whole senate. Indeed Rome He is created was grown the center of discord, where nothing was to be seen but sole consul. riots, assassinations, and disturbances among the adherents of those who stood candidates for public offices. The famous Clodius, who acted one of the principal characters in those scenes, was killed in a scuffle by Milo, Cicero's friend.

The late behaviour of the senate reflected new glory on Pompey, who was now intirely reconciled to the Aristocratical party, between as the friendship between him and Cæsar was greatly abated. Pompey and Cæsar. Their former ties were dissolved: Julia was no more: and Crassus having perished in the Parthian expedition, the fear of his declaring in favour of either party, no longer kept them in awe. Pompey marries Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of young Crassus. He makes new laws *de vi* & *de ambitu* (b), *De vi* & *de* reforms the courts of justice, and shortens the method of judicial *ambitu*. proceedings. Milo fell the victim of the *lex de vi*, which Pompey, Milo tried. his avowed enemy, seemed to have enacted on purpose against him; and con- for he erected an extraordinary tribunal to try him for the murder demned. of Clodius. Milo was condemned, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Cicero, who had undertaken his defence. Metellus Scipio would likewise have been cast for the crime of *ambitus*, but Pompey solicited so strongly in his behalf, that he was acquitted: by this conduct he himself was the first that violated one of the most essential laws, which he had lately enacted for the administration of justice. This same

(b) The *leges de vi*, were against those that used any violence either to public or private persons, without a lawful authority. The *leges de ambitu*, were against intriguing or bribing at elections. By the *Tullia lex de ambitu*, the author M. Tullius Cicero, in 1690, the senators convicted of the *crimen ambitus*, were to suffer *aquæ et ignis interdictio* for ten years; and the commons incurred a severer penalty than had been denounced by the Calpurnian law. The latter was made in 686, and ordained, that besides a fine, no person convicted of this crime should be capable of holding an office, or of entering the senate. The *lex Licinia de sodalitiis*, made in 691, appointed still a greater penalty to offenders. By *sodalitia* they understood an unlawful combination of parties at elections.

Metellus was pitched upon by Pompey for his colleague in the consulate, though the immorality of his character rendered him altogether undeserving of that dignity; so that his attempt to restore the censorship to its ancient lustre, seemed to suit him the least of all men.

Cæsar's
further
exploits in
Gaul.

We are now come to Cæsar's most brilliant campaign in Gaul. Upon information that the people of that country had made a general insurrection, at the instigation of Vercingetorix, who was proclaimed king of the Arverni (c), he marched against them with the utmost expedition, and crossed the Mons Cebenna (d) in the depth of winter: having surprized the enemy, who looked upon this march as impracticable, he fell upon the country of the Arverni, and laid it waste with fire and sword. Vercingetorix was employed in the province of the *Bituriges* (e); from whence he hastened back to the assistance of his countrymen. Cæsar takes advantage of the diversion, and rejoins the legions, which he had left in their winter quarters in the country of the *Lingones* (f). He penetrates next into the province of the *Bituriges*, after he had made himself master of *Genabum* (g), which he set on fire, to punish the inhabitants for massacring the Roman garrison. He lays siege to *Avaricum*, and after a vigorous resistance takes it by storm. The Gauls had learnt to their cost the art of defending fortified towns; this siege was maintained with such skill and resolution, that any other army than Cæsar's would have miscarried in the attempt.

Vercingeto-
rix declared
general of
the revolted
Gauls.

Is defeated
by Cæsar.

The siege of
Alesia by
Cæsar.

Revolt of the *Ædui* (b), the most ancient allies the Romans had in Gaul. This event obliged Cæsar to join Labienus, who had entered the country of the *Senones*, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to besiege *Lutetia*, at the head of four legions: this city was not reduced under the power of the Romans till the following year. Vercingetorix is declared generalissimo of the confederacy. He was very capable of filling this high post, notwithstanding his youth; his prudence being equal to his activity and valour: but he unfortunately deviated from the plan he had hitherto pursued, which consisted rather in harassing than fighting the Roman army. Vercingetorix saw Cæsar retiring towards the *Roman province* (i); and attributing it to fear, he ventured a battle, and lost it. The enemy, to the amount of eighty thousand men, retired to *Alesia*, where Cæsar undertook to besiege them. It is with very good reason, that all ancient and modern writers join in commending this attempt, as the highest exertion of genius and courage. And to come to particulars, is it possible to conceive any thing better contrived, or more expeditiously executed, than that double line of circumvallation

(c) The people of Auvergne; their chief town was *Augustanemetum*, St. Flour.

(d) The Cevennes.

(e) *Ager Bituricensis*, now Berry; the chief town was *Avaricum*, Bourges.

(f) Their chief town, *Andematunum*, Langres.

(g) Now Orleans.

(b) Their chief town *Augustodunum*, Autun.

(i) The country called afterwards *Gallia Narbonensis*; it was at this time particularly styled *provincia Romanorum*.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
<p>Cneius Pompeius Magnus. 3^o. <i>Alone at first; at the end of seven months he chooses his colleague,</i> Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.</p>	701	53	<p>Catulus (Q. Valerius Catulus) born at Verona, died at Rome at the age of thirty, towards the year of that city 705 This poet was of an easy and facetious disposition, a character which he has transfused into his works. We have still a hundred and seventeen epigrams of his remaining, or other compositions in verse, most of which are excellent things; his style is pure, but his ideas are sometimes otherwise.</p>	<p>Kingdom of Judæa. Antipater taking advantage of the troubles, and of the weakness of Hyrcanus, obtains of Cæsar the government of Judæa. He confers on Phasaelus, his eldest son, the government of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; and upon Herod, his other son, the government of Galilee, before Christ 48</p>
<p>Servius Sulpicius Rufus.</p>	702	52		
<p>M. Claudius Marcellus. L. Æmilius Paulus.</p>	703	51		
<p>C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Cornelius Lentulus.</p>	704	50		
<p>C. Claudius Marcellus. <i>Cæsar dictator towards the end of the year.</i></p>				
<p>C. Julius Cæsar. 2^o. Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus.</p>	705	49		
<p><i>Cæsar dictator.</i> Q. Fufius Calenus. Publius Vatinius.</p>	706	48	<p>Cæsar (Caius Julius) born at Rome, the year 653, killed in the senate house in 709 The exploits of this celebrated Roman are a model in the military art. His Commentaries, or Memoirs on the civil war, and those of the Gauls, are a model in the art of writing. We have reason to believe, that if he had enjoyed the sovereignty much longer, he would have left us also the best model of the art of government. His fruitful genius was capable of the most sublime undertakings.</p>	<p>Antigonus, one of the sons of Aristobulus, having invited the Parthians into Judæa, in order to recover the throne of his ancestors, Herod applies for succours to Rome, where he is declared king of Judæa, by means of Mark Antony's protection, in 48</p>
<p><i>They were nominated consuls towards the end of the year by Cæsar.</i> C. Julius Cæsar. 3^o. <i>He is dictator, and at the same time consul with</i></p>	707	47		
<p>M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Julius Cæsar. 4^o. <i>He is dictator and sole consul during nine months; and then to finish the year, he nominates</i></p>	708	46		
<p>Q. Fabius Maximus. Caius Trebonius.</p>				
<p><i>Fabius having died suddenly the last day of the year, Cornificius is substituted in his room for 17 hours.</i> C. Julius Cæsar. 5^o. Marcus Antonius.</p>	709	45	<p>Cicero (Marcus Tullius) a native of Arpinum in Italy, killed at the age of sixty three, by order of Mark Antony, in the year of Rome 710 The moral reflexions, the sentiments of hu-</p>	<p>Herod besieges Antigonus in Jerusalem, and takes him prisoner with the assistance of Sosius, Antony's lieutenant. This general wanted to keep him to adorn his triumph, but Herod prevailed on Antony to have him beheaded. In him finished the race of the Asmonæans, the year before Christ 38 Herod puts Hyrcanus II. to death, who still gave him umbrage, though he was fourscore years of age; and seeing that fortune was beginning to frown upon Antony, he abandons him notwithstanding the great obligations he had to that</p>
<p>M. Æmilius Lepidus. Aulus</p>				

Cæsar de-
feats the
Gauls, and
takes the
place.

drawn round Alesia (*k*), and defended towards the country by new ditches, secured by strong palisades, by wells filled with sharp stakes, and by an infinite number of crows feet to entangle the enemy. In vain did two hundred and forty thousand combatants attempt to raise the siege; they met with their fate before they could approach the lines; and fifty thousand of them having advanced to attack a hill, which could not be taken into the circumvallation because of its great circumference, were repulsed, defeated, and cut in pieces. The Gauls disheartened by this overthrow, retire to their respect homes. Vercingetorix is obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender himself at discretion, with his whole army. They are all reduced to slavery, and distributed among the legionaries, except the Arverni and the Ædui, whom the Roman general spared, hoping by their means to gain over those two chief nations of Celtic Gaul; and he succeeded in his expectations. Cæsar takes a resolution to spend a second winter in that country.

702.

All Gaul
subdued, and
reduced to a
Roman
province.

This precaution was necessary. The Gauls were far from looking upon themselves as a conquered people; on the contrary, finding that all their joint efforts had hitherto proved unsuccessful, they resolved to divide their forces, and to act in separate bodies. Cæsar being apprized of their design, prevents it by attacking first the Bituriges, then the Carnutes, and subdues them both. In the spring, he is obliged to fight the Bellovaci, the most intrepid and most warlike people of all the Celtæ: they maintained their reputation, but at length were defeated, and obliged to submit. And now the intirc pacification and settlement of Gaul, was no way difficult to a man who knew so well how to temper rigour and severity with clemency and indulgence: yet he judged proper to take up his winter quarters once more among those people (*l*).

Affairs of
the East.

In the East, the Parthians menaced Syria and Cilicia; where they might certainly have cut out a great deal of work for the Romans, had they acted with vigour immediately after the defeat of Crassus. But they only sent a small number of troops into Syria, which were repulsed by young Cassius, who escaping from Parthian chains on the day so fatal to the Romans, had collected the feeble remains of their army together in Syria, and taken upon him the command of that province in the *interim*, though he was only quæstor. To Cassius succeeded M. Calpurnius Bibulus, who acquired no great honour in his proconsulate. Cilicia was better defended by Cicero, to whom the government of that province had fallen, in consequence of a law

(*k*) A town of the *Mandubii*, a people of Burgundy, and commonly believed to be *Alife* in that province.

(*l*) During his several expeditions into Gaul, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, to have subdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated, in several battles, three millions of men, of which one million were killed, and another taken prisoners. *Plut.*

[illegible]

Cicero's
good con-
duct in
Cilicia.

enacted by Pompey in his third consulate, ordaining, that consuls and prætors should not be sent to govern provinces, till five years after the expiration of their magistracy; and this obliged them to have recourse to the oldest consulars, who had not as yet been vested with governments. As soon as Cicero was apprized that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates, he marched at the head of the legions, and posted himself in the defiles of mount Taurus to wait for the enemy, by which means he effectually covered his province: from thence he advanced as far as mount *Amantus* (1), where he surprized and beat the Parthians, and after a siege of fifty days made himself master of *Pindenissus*, one of their strongest fortresses. These exploits induced the soldiery to call him *Imperator*, a title extremely coveted by the Roman generals. At Rome they likewise granted him the honour of *public supplications*; and perhaps he would have obtained a triumph, had it not been for the intestine divisions of the republic: it is true, he was desirous of this honour; but still like a wise man, he preferred the glory arising from virtuous actions, to that acquired by arms. He used to jest with his friends about his military exploits; but he was serious when he enlarged upon the integrity, moderation, and disinterestedness, with which he had fulfilled his duty as a proconsul. The public admired him in this light, as did even the rigid Cato, who notwithstanding would have refused him the honour of supplications. Cato had lately been disappointed of the consulate, for which office he offered to stand, but did not solicit the electors; that is, he used no arts of popularity in going round the city (m), in taking mean persons by the hands (n), in calling them by their names (o), and in employing considerable men of his party to beg voices in his behalf: nay, he had persuaded the senate to make an order, that those who stood for offices, should themselves ask the people for their votes, and not solicit by others. The people were offended at this step, and for so frivolous a motive excluded the only person they ought to have courted to accept of this employment. The republic was threatened with the loss of her liberty from Cæsar and Pompey, each having a powerful party; and Cato alone was capable of disconcerting their views, had he been raised to the principal dignity in the state.

The senate
deprive
Cæsar of his
government
of Gaul.

The senate, pressed by Pompey, issue a decree the last of September, the intent of which was to deprive Cæsar of the government of Gaul the beginning of the next year. Cæsar opposes this decree by means of the four tribunes, whom he had secured in his interest by exorbitant sums of money; for it is said that Curio alone cost him

(1) A mountain that parteth Syria from Cilicia, according to Cicero, *Attic.* 5. but Tacitus placeth it in Syria. It is now called *monte di Scandurona*.

(m) Hence the phrase *ambire magistratum* had its rise.

(n) *Prensare amicos*.

(o) For this purpose they had usually a *nomenclator* or *mentor* to assist them. The persons that openly favoured their designs, were distinguished by the names of *salutatores*, *deductores*, and *scellatores*.

CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. C. Julius Cæsar Octa- vianus, 5 ^o . M. Licinius Crassus. <i>In the room of Crassus were successively substi- tuted,</i> Caius Anstilius, M. Tullius. Lucius Sænius. C. Julius Cæsar Octa- vianus, 6 ^o . Sextus Apuleius. <i>In the room of the latter is substituted</i> M. Valerius Messala Potius.	723	31	<p>Yet some celebrated writers, even of the Augustan age, charge him with being too fond of antiquated expressions.</p> <p><i>Servius Sulpicius Rus-</i> <i>fus</i>, a celebrated civil- lian, consul in the year of Rome 702</p> <p>Cicero gives a very high encomium of him, when he says, that if all the Roman civilians were put together, Sul- picius would outstrip them. He wrote a hundred and four- score books on the ci- vil law, of which we have some fragments remaining, particular- ly in the Digest.</p>

upwards of seven millions five hundred thousand livres, with which he paid his debts. This is sufficient to prove what has been said of Cæsar, *that he subdued the Gauls with Roman steel, and the Romans with Gallic gold.* Such was the first act of hostility between these two famous rivals in glory and power.

703.

Pompey's
too great
confidence.

From this quarrel to a civil war, was an easy but dangerous transition. Pompey perhaps would never have ventured to take this step, had not he been too much elated by the tokens of affection towards his person, which the Romans shewed on a late occasion. Having been seized with a fit of sickness at Naples, which brought him to the brink of his grave, he recovered contrary to expectation, and had the pleasure of seeing all Italy expressing their greatest joy by public festivals; an honour never done before to any Roman. Pompey was naturally cautious and prudent, but this circumstance gave him an extravagant confidence of his own power: for upon being told that if Cæsar would march against Rome, there was nothing to stop him; he made answer: *in whatever part of Italy I shall stamp with my foot, legions will start out of the ground.* Cæsar spent this year, which was the ninth of his command, in Gaul, in gaining the affections of the inhabitants by lenity, and reconciling them to the Roman government. He did not march into Italy till the beginning of winter, taking with him one legion, which he carefully distributed in the several important posts of Cisalpine Gaul.

At Rome the censors Appius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Calpurnius Piso, took the last census under the republic, and ended it with a lustrum: they computed three hundred and twenty thousand citizens fit to bear arms.

704.

Civil war
between
Cæsar and
Pompey.

Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey. Pompey had offered to resign the proconsulate, and the command of the armies, if it should be judged necessary: Cæsar had made nearly the same proposal, and yet neither of them was sincere; for both were desirous of war. Pompey was urged to it by the consuls, by the senate, and by the whole order of patricians; Cæsar had on his side the soldiers, the people, and a multitude of young men of debauched morals, but of tried courage. Pompey behaved with more dignity; Cæsar with more resolution: one seemed to be chief of the republic; the other the ringleader of a conspiracy; but his enterprize soon assumed a more favourable aspect.

Decree for
Cæsar to
disband his
army.

The senate pass a decree, ordering Cæsar to resign the command of the army. The famous Mark Antony, tribune of the people, opposes this decree. Violent debates in the senate, which last seven days. At length the senatusconsultum is issued, as in the greatest emergencies of the state; *the consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of the people, receive orders to provide for the public safety.* Antony retires from Rome. Cæsar with the only legion he had then in Italy, begins
the

the war, under pretence of asserting the rights of the tribunship, which had been violated in the person of Mark Antony. He advances privately towards Ariminum (p), with an intent to surprize that town, and passes the *Rubicon* (q). On the banks of this river, the boundary of his province, he muses a few minutes : to pass it was declaring war : the fate of the Roman world was set in balance against Cæsar's ambition ; but the latter preponderated. *Cæsar passed the river*, says Plutarch, *like men that are throwing themselves headlong from some precipice into (r) a vast abyss.* He takes possession of Rimini. Cæsar passes the Rubicon.

On this occasion happened two things very surprizing. The first is the consternation with which Rome was seized at the news of the taking of Ariminum ; a consternation so great, that the senate immediately declared there was a *tumult*, that is, the republic and the city were in danger, and that every citizen was obliged to take up arms. But what is still more amazing, most of the senators, ma- Consternation at Rome.

(p) Now Rimini.

(q) The *Rubico* or *Rubicon* was a small river of *Æmilia*, in *Gallia Cispadana*, or the south part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, which separated this province from Italy, and emptied itself into the *Adriatic*. *Lucan*, *Pharsal.* 1. give a very particular description of this little river :

*Fonte cadit modico, parvisque impellitur undis
Puniceus Rubico : quum fervida canduit æstus :
Perque imas serpit valles, & Gallicæ certus
Limes ab Ausoniis disterninat arva colonis.*

It is very extraordinary there should be any dispute about a river so famous in history. The general opinion supposes it to be the modern *Pisatello*, towards its source called *Rico*, which runs through *Romagna*, a province of the ecclesiastic state. Hence *Schottus*, in his *Itinerarium Italicum*, says : *Portum Cæsenaticum, pagum ulterius vides, & magis ultra super litore amniculi Pissatelli omnino sisses. Perlustra Rubiconem perduellione C. Julii Cæsaris famosum : & cogita ut ille fluviculus, florente imperio, præcipuam urbis Romæ provinciam Italianam eo loci inter Apenninum & Adriaticum mare disternerat à Gallia Cisalpina provincia.* Yet some historians of Rimini pretend, that the *Rubicon* must be the little river *Luso*, which riseth on the confines of the dutchy of *Urbino*, and after watering part of *Romagna*, empties itself into the *Adriatic*, a few leagues west of Rimini. And the reason they give for their opinion, is because the *Pisatello* falls into the *Sapis*, now *Savi*, whereas the *Rubicon* emptied itself into the sea. The learned *Scipio Claramontius* of *Cesena*, in answer to the historians of Rimini, lays a very great stress on the famous marble column, which was dug up in his time near the banks of the *Pisatello*, and which, at the request of the inhabitants of *Cesena*, was erected on the same spot by Cardinal *Rivarola* then legate of *Romagna*. On this column was the following inscription in capitals, S. P. Q. R. *Sanctio ad Rubiconis pontem jussu mandaturæ Pop. Roman. Coss. Imp. Trib. miles, tiro, committito, arma te quisquis es. Manipularive centurio, turmæve legionariæ, hic sistito, vexillum sumito, arma deponito, nec citra hunc amnem Rubiconem signa ductum exercitum, comitumve traducito. Si quis bujusce jussionis ergo, adversus præcepta ierit, feceritve, adjudicatus esto hostis S. P. Q. R. ac si contra patriam arma tulerit, penatesque è sacris penetralibus asportaverit.* On the base was written, *Ultra hos fines arma proferre liceat nemini, E. D. R.* However, the antiquity of this inscription is very much suspected.

(r) As he crossed the river, he said to those that were present with a loud voice in the Greek language, ἀνέψιφθω χίλος, that is, *let the die be cast.*

gistrates

gistrates and patricians, deserted Rome to follow Pompey, who was as much frightened as themselves. I do not think it possible to account for those panics; or how a people who were sovereigns of the known world, and inhabited the strongest and most populous city upon the face of the earth, should tremble with fear upon the least danger that threatened Italy. The second is, that the senate should charge Pompey with the conduct of the war against Cæsar. Had not Rome her consuls, whom the state had entrusted with the defence of the republic, and the command of her armies? Why should she throw herself into the arms of a man, who next to Cæsar, was universally allowed to be the greatest enemy of the republic? Seneca has therefore reason to say, “that if we would
 “ draw a faithful picture of those times, we shall see, on the one side,
 “ the common people, and persons of desperate fortune, all desirous of
 “ a change; on the other, the patricians, the equestrian order, and
 “ every person of rank and figure in Rome; in the middle, the re-
 “ public and Cato abandoned by all.” This zealous patriot who had so long struggled for the liberties of his country, put on a mourning habit the day on which this fatal war began, determining to end his life, if Cæsar proved victorious; and only to go into banishment, if victory attended Pompey.

Cæsar seizes
Pisaurum
Fanum.

The two rivals enter into a negotiation, which was insincere, and proved fruitless. Pompey wanted to spin out the affair, because he had but few troops, and it required some time to bring his legions from Spain: Cæsar was willing to make a shew of moderation, and in the mean time pushed on the war. He seizes on *Pisaurum* (r), *Fanum* (s), *Ancona*, and *Aretium* in Tuscany, while *Iguvium* (t), *Auximum* (u), and *Asculum* (x), open their gates to him: he is obliged to lay siege in form to *Corfinium* (y), where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, a consular

(r) *Pisaurum* is a town of Umbria in Italy, now called *Pesaro*; near it was the river *Pisaurus*, mentioned by Lucan, — *et juncto Sapis Isaro*. Vellius, lib. 1. mentions it as a Roman colony.

(s) *Fanum*, still called *Fane*, was a city of Umbria, which took its name from the temple of Fortune. Hence Pliny calls it *Fanum Fortunæ*, as does also Tacitus, *exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunæ iter sistunt*. Hist. lib. 5. Cæsar calls it simply *Fanum*.

(t) *Iguvium* was a city of Umbria, now called *Assigubio*, and still famous for the tables in Etruscan characters. It was a *municipium*, and a place of great antiquity. The inhabitants were called *Iguvini*. Silius, lib. 8. mentions this city, *Narnia, & infestum uetulis lumentibus olim—Iguvium*.

(u) *Auximum*, or *Auximus* was a city of the *ager Picenus* in Italy, and now called *Osimo* or *Osma*. It is mentioned by Lucan, lib. 2. — *admotæ pulsarunt Auximoniae*. The inhabitants were stiled *Auximati*.

(x) *Asculum* was called *Asculum Picenum*, by reason of its situation in *Picenum*, Strabo makes it a strong place, and Florus calls it *caput gentis Asculum*. Its modern name is *Ascoli*.

(y) *Corfinium* was the capital of the *Peligni*, situate three miles from the river *Alernus*, and eight from *Sulmo*. There are no remains of it at present, but it is thought

consular person, and one of his greatest enemies, had shut himself up with many senators, and a considerable number of troops. Cæsar having received intelligence thereof, pressed the town so hard, that Domitius, after having applied in vain to Pompey for succours, thought to make his escape privately; but the garrison seeing into his design, resolved to deliver him up, together with the other officers. Then it was that Cæsar shewed how far he could carry his generosity: he not only forgave Domitius and his attendants, but likewise granted them their liberty without requiring any ransom, or even their word of honour; besides, he restored to Domitius the military chest which was in the town. It is very certain, that this lenity and moderation will reflect perpetual honour upon his name, especially in the opinion of those who do not consider the motives of interest and ambition from which he acted, motives which he himself acknowledges in one of his letters still extant, where he says: *I would fain conciliate the good will of every body by this behaviour, if possible, and secure to myself a long enjoyment of the fruits of my victory; for others, by acting cruelly, have incurred the public hatred, and could never long enjoy their prosperous fortune.* He incorporates the garrison of Corfinium among his troops, and marches in pursuit of Pompey, who had shut himself up in Brundisium, after sending his eldest son Cneius into the East, in order to raise levies by sea and land. It was in this voyage that young Pompey had occasion to see the famous Cleopatra, who was most liberal of her favours to him, because she imagined she should have need of his assistance. Cæsar besieges Brundisium by land, and at the same time undertakes to shut up the port by a *staccado*. Pompey makes his escape, and goes over to Epirus, abandoning all Italy to his rival.

Pompey
retires to
Brundisium.

And from
thence to
Epirus.

The month of March was hardly expired, when Cæsar had made a most rapid progress. Cicero was so greatly surprized, that he said to some of his friends; *what an amazing man is this, for activity, vigilance, and expedition!* Cæsar was master of all Italy, before Cicero had time to determine which party to embrace. Happy would it have been for him, had he continued to act the part of mediator, in which he had hitherto appeared! He had resolution enough to withstand the solicitations, and I might almost say, menaces of Cæsar, who came himself in person to visit him at *Formiæ*, and endeavoured to persuade him to go with him to Rome; but his inclination drew him towards Pompey; so that he embarked the seventh of June to join his camp in Epirus. Cæsar directed his march to Rome, where he plundered the public treasury, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribune Metellus. By this violent proceeding he shewed the insincerity of the two fine speeches which he had made at his arrival, to conciliate the benevolence of the people, and of the remaining part of the

Cicero goes
over to
Pompey.

Cæsar goes
to Rome,

thought to have stood near the town of *Popelo*, of the province of *Abnuzzo*, in the kingdom of Naples.

E e

senate.

And from
thence to
Spain.
Siege of
Marseilles.

Cæsar re-
duces Spain.

Marseilles
surrenders.

Cæsar's
lieutenants
unsuccess-
ful.

Cæsar re-
turns to
Rome,

senate. Sardinia and Sicily receive his lieutenants Valerius and Curio, whom he had commissioned to seize on those islands. Having appointed commanders in his own name all over Italy, and in several provinces, he marches into Spain, saying, *that he was going to fight troops without a general, and should afterwards return to fight a general without troops.* By the way he lays siege to Marseilles, for shutting her gates against him, and commits the management of it to Trebonius. One may judge that his army was very strong, especially by means of the Gaulish cavalry; for Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's lieutenants, with an army of sixty thousand men, were obliged to act upon the defensive. This succeeded at first; but Cæsar having made several cuts in the river Sicoris (s), which parted him from the enemy, and by that means having rendered it fordable, Afranius and Petreius thought proper to cross the Iberus, in order to retire into Celtiberia. Cæsar was before hand with them: having seized on all the defiles they were to pass in order to come at the Iberus, he surrounds them at the foot of those defiles, and compels them to desire an interview; at which it was agreed they should disband their troops, on condition of never serving any more against him. He had designedly omitted several opportunities of destroying this army, to convince the world that he knew sometimes how to conquer without fighting; his plan being rather to conciliate the minds of his enemies by clemency, than to subdue them by force. From thence he proceeded to Farther Spain, where M. Varro, another of Pompey's lieutenants, commanded two legions and some cohorts; but this province declared in his favour. Varro finding himself deserted by the greatest part of his troops, surrenders the few that remained into the hands of the conqueror. As the siege of Marseilles was not yet over, Cæsar returned with all expedition, and upon his appearing before the town, it immediately surrendered.

His enterprizes however were not attended with the same success, where he acted by his lieutenants. In Illyricum, Dolabella and C. Antonius were defeated by M. Octavius, and Scribonius Libo, Pompey's lieutenants, whose fleet was greatly superior to Cæsar's. In Africa, Curio had transported two legions with him from Sicily, to wage war against Attius Varus and his ally Juba king of Mauritania: in the beginning he met with considerable advantages, but suffered himself afterwards to be carried away by his natural temerity, which cost him the loss of his whole army, and his life.

Cæsar, contrary to rule, is nominated dictator by Lepidus prætor of Rome; for it belonged to the consuls to make this nomination, had it been necessary. He repairs to Rome to take possession of his dictatorship, makes a law in favour of debtors, recalls all the exiles, and restores the children of proscribed persons to the right of being

(s) Now the Segre.

eligible to public offices; and all this in order to increase the number of his adherents. He gets himself promoted to the consular dignity And is chosen consul. for the following year, and presides at the election of the other magistrates. It was with this view he accepted of the dictatorship, which he abdicated in eleven days, and embarked at Brundisium to follow Pompey into Greece. This general was making great preparations against him; and had received a new degree of authority at a meeting of the senate held at Thessalonica, where he was declared sole general of the forces of the republic. He follows Pompey into Greece.

705.

Cæsar at his landing in Greece had but twenty thousand legionary soldiers, and six hundred horse; whereas Pompey's army consisted Cæsar lands in Greece. of nine legions complete, without reckoning three thousand six hundred auxiliary horse, and a fleet of six hundred sail: so that Cæsar had strong inducements to make new proposals of accommodation to Pompey. He still affected great moderation, and was for gaining time till the remainder of his troops could join him. In the mean while he seized on the towns of Epirus, which opened their gates to him, except Dyrrachium (o). Pompey having made this his magazine of arms and provisions, arrived time enough to save it, and encamped opposite to Cæsar, with the river Apsus (p) between them. Cæsar after receiving the reinforcements he expected from Italy, sends several detachments into Ætolia, Thessaly, and Macedon, where they meet with success. They had landed in Epirus at the end of winter, under the command of Antony and Calenus, after having been in the greatest danger from Pompey's fleet, which covered those seas, and had long blocked up the harbour of Brundisium (q). Cæsar perceiving that Pompey declined a decisive engagement, and being sensible he could not compel him to it, resolved to draw a line of circumvallation round his camp, though he had not so many men by one third as the enemy. Pompey saw himself reduced to the utmost extremity for want of fresh water and forage, when two deserters coming over to his camp, and shewing him the weak parts of Cæsar's circumvallation, he takes their He is worst. advice, attacks the lines, and breaks through them. The enemy ed at Dyrrachium.

(o) *Dyrrachium* was a town of Macedonia, with a good harbour at the mouth of the river *Argentara*, in the gulf of Venice. It was formerly called *Epidaurum*; but its present name is *Durazzo*.

(p) A river of Macedon, which empties itself into the Adriatic, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, and now called *Pontremoli*, or as some say *Asspro*.

(q) At this time Cæsar being uneasy at the delay of his troops, went in a disguise on board a fisherman's bark, with an intent to cross over to Brundisium through the thickest of Pompey's squadron. The river *Anius* was to carry them down to sea, but a tempest arising, the pilot tacked about. Cæsar upon this discovers himself, and taking him by the hand, said, *go on boldly, my friend; thou carriest Cæsar, and his fortune along with thee.* Upon this the mariners forgot the storm, and used all their endeavours to put out to sea: but it was to no purpose, for the vessel took in too much water; so that Cæsar at length permitted the master to turn back.

Retires to
Thessaly.

received such a check, that there is no doubt but fortune would have intirely declared herself on Pompey's side, had he marched directly to Cæsar's camp. This was even the opinion of the latter, for speaking of this action, he observed, that *he should have been certainly demolished, had Pompey known how to use his victory.* Cæsar retires into Thessaly, and taking the town of *Gomphi* (q) by assault, he delivers it up to be plundered. This seasonable act of severity opens the whole country to him; so that he penetrates without difficulty into the plains of Pharsalia, whither he is followed by Pompey, who pitches his camp not far from Cæsar.

The battle
of Pharsalia.

The battle of Pharsalia (r). The success of this battle, one of the most memorable in history, was determined by a trifling circumstance: this was the direction which Cæsar had given his men to aim only at the faces of Pompey's troopers, who were to begin the action. These pretty fellows, too studious of preserving the elegance of their features, could not withstand those blows that tended to disfigure them, but turned their backs in the utmost confusion: thus seven thousand horse fled before six cohorts, who broke in upon the foot, and charged them in the rear. The rout soon became general; Pompey himself, absolutely disconcerted by the flight of his horse, on which he had chiefly depended, quits the field of battle, and retires to his tent. There he soon heard, that the enemy were forcing his entrenchments; upon which he mounted his horse, and galloped away with full speed, leaving fifteen thousand of his men dead upon the spot. Cæsar lost but two hundred men, or according to others, twelve hundred. The clemency with which he behaved towards the conquered, brought such a number over to his banners, that he was soon in a condition to march in pursuit of Pompey. But this general was no more: he had been lately assassinated within sight of his wife Cornelia, at his landing in Egypt, where he expected to find an asylum, in consequence of a promise from the ministers of the young king Ptolemy, son of Auletes, to whom he had been guardian. His body having been left naked on the shore, was wrapt up by one of his freedmen; and an old Roman, who had served under Pompey from his youth, came and helped to burn it according to ancient

Pompey
cruelly
murdered.

(q) A town of Thessaly near the sources of the river Peneus.

(r) A part of Thessaly, so called from the plains in the neighbourhood of the town of *Pharsalus*. Strabo observes, that the river Enipeus runs close by the town, ὁ δ' Ἐνιπεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰρυνθῆς παρὰ Φάρσαλον ῥεῖ. Lucan mentions this place, lib. 6. *Ematbis aquorci regnum Pharsalos Achillis.* Tacitus calls it *Pharsalia*, lib. 1. Appian says the battle was fought μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου καὶ ποταμοῦ ἢ Ἐνιπίου ποταμοῦ, between the town of *Pharsalus* and the river *Enipeus*. Which makes some conjecture, that the old town of *Pharsalus* was at a greater distance from the Enipeus than the new. The former is mentioned by Eutropius, lib. 6. *Deinde in Thessalia apud Palæopharsalum productis utrinque ingentibus castris dimicaverunt.* Livy calls it *Palæpharsalum*. Therefore the battle was fought between this last place and the river Enipeus. By a stretch of poetical liberty it is likewise supposed to have been the place where the battle was fought between Augustus, Brutus and Cassius; but it is very certain that this battle was fought near Philippi in Thrace. There is still a town in Thessaly of the name of *Parfa*.

custom, and covered the ashes with a little earth; such was the tomb of Pompey the Great. We have a fine saying of Sallust in regard to this illustrious Roman: *he had more modesty in his countenance, than in his sentiments.* (*Oris probi, animo invicereundo.*) This reflexion gives us the whole character of that celebrated captain. He had such a regard for virtue, as not to insult her in public; but he did not love her enough, to sacrifice to her in private. Hence that profound dissimulation in which he was always enwrapped, and that Pompey's well-settled plan of seeming to desire nothing but in consequence of character. his merit, while he carried every thing by faction and intrigue. He pretended to love Cicero, because he could not but esteem him; yet he deserted this great orator, as soon as he saw him persecuted by Cæsar's faction, which he had blindly espoused. Cicero having waited upon him in the country to desire his protection, he went out the very moment the orator set foot in his house. It would be rather a disgrace than honour to Pompey to have received the surname of Great from such a tyrant as Sylla: but he accepted of it only as a presage of future fortune, thinking it incumbent on him to do something worthy of the title before he wore it. This surname was afterwards confirmed to him by the people of Rome, who justly considered him as a first rate general. Pompey did not eclipse, but supplant Lucullus. He was worthy to enter the lists with Cæsar, to whom all other warriors must yield the palm: and he was much superior to this general in moderation and virtue. Had Pompey been as enterprizing as Cæsar, he would have acted long before like Cæsar; for he had it in his power to enslave his country upon his return from the East. The one, transported by his ambition, aimed at the sovereignty of the world; the other, sensible of the dignity of virtue, wanted only to be the first citizen of Rome.

Cæsar went through a great many dangers before he arrived in Cæsar Egypt. Among others it is related, that crossing the Hellespont in a ^{arrives in} very indifferent vessel, he was met by ten ships of war belonging to Egypt. Pompey's party. Out of this terrible difficulty he extricated himself most surprizingly, by assuming that air of authority which so well became him: he boldly made up to the enemy, summoned them to surrender, and was obeyed. Upon his arrival at Alexandria, Theodotus the rhetor, who had been the adviser of Pompey's murder, presented to him the head of that formidable rival, with a view of paying his court to the conqueror; but Cæsar received this horrid present with indignation, and even bathed it with tears. But it would have been more to his glory, if he had inflicted a severe punishment on the murderer.

The Roman general is detained at Alexandria by the Etesian winds (t) longer

(t) Etesian winds are such as blow from any quarter at stated times of the year, so called from *ētes* a year, being yearly winds, like the monsoons and trade winds.

The Alex- longer than he intended. This interval he spent in taking cognizance
andrian war. of the controversy between the young king of Egypt and his sister the
famous Cleopatra, who at the same time was that prince's wife, pur-
suant to the custom of the royal family of Egypt. They ought to
have shared the kingdom betwixt them, in virtue of the testamentary
disposition of their father Ptolemy Auletes; but the young king,
under the sanction of a decree made by Pompey's senate, had driven
away his sister, and compelled her to retire into Syria with her sister
Arsinoë. Cæsar was equally taken with the wit, charms, and graceful
behaviour of Cleopatra, who, as every body must have read, caused
herself to be tied up in a mattrass, and thus secretly conveyed to his
apartment, in order to plead her cause before him: upon which he
pronounces a decree in her favour. Bloody war on this occasion:
Achilles, general of the royal army, besieges Cæsar in Alexandria,
and makes himself master of the town, except a quarter of the palace
occupied by the Roman general with three thousand foot and eight
hundred horse. A considerable engagement near the harbour, to the
advantage of the Romans, who set fire to the Egyptian fleet. The
The Alex- flames destroyed the best part of the rich and magnificent library (u),
andrian li- which the kings of Egypt had collected at Alexandria; a loss
brary burnt. greatly regretted by the learned. Cæsar makes himself master of
the isle of Pharos (x), the key of the port of Alexandria. Having
been informed under these circumstances, that he had been late-
ly nominated dictator at Rome for a year, he took possession of this
Cæsar new dignity in Ptolemy's palace where he resided, and appointed
named Mark Antony his general of the horse. For the space of several
dictator for months they two were the only Roman magistrates, except the tri-
a year. bunes and ædiles of the people, magistracies which still subsisted, al-
though there was a dictator.

706.

He is in great danger at Alexan- Arsinoë, sister to Cleopatra, puts Achilles to death, seizes on the
dria. regal authority, and confers the command of her troops on the eu-
guch Ganymedes. Under this new general, the war changes face for
some time. The Alexandrians retake the isle of Pharos; and the
Romans are defeated in an engagement on a causeway, which joined

Thus the north winds, which in the dog days blow constantly upon the coast of
Egypt, are called *Etesiaë* in Cæsar's Commentaries.

(u) The royal library of the Ptolemies was said to consist of seven hundred thou-
sand volumes: one part, containing four hundred thousand, stood in the quarter of
the city called *Bruchion*, and was unfortunately burnt on this occasion; the other part,
containing three hundred thousand, was within the Serapeum, and escaped the
flames; there it was that Cleopatra deposited the two hundred thousand volumes of
the Pergamean library, which had been given her by Mark Antony. This was
increased from time to time, and continued for many ages of great fame, till at
length it was burnt in 642.

(x) A small island at the mouth of the Nile, wherein was a tower with lights,
which was also called *Pharos*.

this

this island to the continent by means of two bridges. Cæsar is obliged to save himself by swimming, with his papers in one hand, and holding his purple coat with his teeth. His good fortune attended him even in his greatest disasters; for it is observed that this purple coat having got away from him, was the means of preserving his life, because the enemy taking it for Cæsar, discharged all their darts and arrows at it, while he made his escape. He receives supplies of troops from different parts, and among others a considerable reinforcement, brought by Mithridates king of Pergamus, who was thought to be the natural son of the celebrated king of Pontus, and not inferior to his father in the military art. Pelusium was taken by assault; Memphis opened her gates; and Cæsar joined Mithridates within view of Ptolemy, whom he had sent back to the Alexandrian army. A decisive engagement on the banks of the Nile; Ptolemy, being vanquished and put to flight, attempts to make his escape on that river, but is drowned by overloading the boat. Cæsar enters Alexandria in triumph, and puts Cleopatra and her younger brother in possession of the kingdom of Egypt. He staid some time longer in this country: yet it was neither the Etesian winds, nor the war that detained him, but the charms of Cleopatra; charms so bewitching as to lull Cæsar to sleep, at a time when he had more need than ever of his utmost vigilance and activity.

Ptolemy
defeated by
Cæsar.

Cleopatra
put in pos-
session of
Egypt.

Rome and Italy were all in combustion; Pompey's party was raising its head again in Africa, and every day acquiring new strength. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and king of Bosphorus (y), was making a most rapid progress in Asia: after subduing Colchis, Pontus, the lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia, he defeated Domitius, Cæsar's lieutenant, in a pitched battle. Against this prince the Roman general intended first to turn his arms. Cæsar traverses Syria and Cilicia, settles these provinces on his march, and arrives in Pontus, where Pharnaces, at the head of a powerful army, occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Zela, a place famous for the victory which his father had formerly obtained over the Romans (z). Cæsar's army was no more than twenty thousand men; yet notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, he attacks the enemy, and obtains a complete victory. It was in giving an account to one of his friends (a) of this rapid success, that he made use of these three famous words, *veni, vidi, vici*, *I came, I saw, I conquered*. Pharnaces retires towards the Bosphorus, which he finds in rebellion under the command of Asander, to whom he had committed the regency: they come to an engagement, in which Pharnaces is defeated and slain. Cæsar returns to Rome, after settling the kingdom of Bosphorus on Mithridates of Pergamus, to whom he had given charge at the same

Cæsar
defeat
Pharnaces.

He returns
to Rome.

(y) The Cimmerian Bosphorus.

(z) Under the command of Triarius.

(a) Aminius or Annius.

time to conquer it from Asander. His presence restored a general tranquillity in the capital, which had been interrupted, on the one hand by the mad projects of Dolabella, who was for having a law passed for the abolition of all debts, in order to avoid paying his own; and on the other, by the violence and extortion of Mark Antony, who acted without controul, and, what was altogether extraordinary, appeared with his sword when he presided at the meetings of the people. Caesar forgave them both, because he had need of their services; and in order to attach the multitude still more to his interest, he followed in part Dolabella's plan, by discharging debtors from all the arrears due since the commencement of the civil war, and by remitting to the poor citizens of Rome a year's rent of the houses which they hired of the public. The estates and effects of the conquered party, he ordered to be sold by auction, particularly those of Pompey, which were purchased by Antony (*b*). He conferred the consulate for the remaining part of the year on Q. Fufius Calenus, and P. Vatinius; in return for what the one had done to serve him by subduing Athens, Megara, and Peloponnesus; and the other in restoring his affairs in Illyricum, by the intire overthrow of Octavius. He gets himself continued in the dictatorship for a year, and is created consul together with Marcus Lepidus, whom at the same time he appoints his general of the horse, out of gratitude for having nominated him to his first dictatorship against all rule, when Lepidus was only prætor. Among the other friends and partisans of Cæsar, that were rewarded with public offices, we find Sallust the historian, who was restored to his seat in the senate, from whence he had been expelled by the last censors for his dissolute life; and it is observed that on this occasion Cæsar increased the number of prætors to ten, that he might have more places to bellow upon his friends.

And appeases the disturbances he found in that city.

707.

The African war.

The African war against Pompey's adherents, who had time to multiply and strengthen themselves greatly in this province, while Cæsar was employed in Egypt and Asia. Their forces by sea and land were grown superior to his; Juba, king of Mauritania, furnished them with a very large body of horse, a great number of light troops, and four legions trained up to the Roman discipline, which he commanded himself in person. Metellus, Scipio, and Varus, had collected, or formed, ten legions complete. Cato having been obliged, upon Cicero's refusal, to take upon him the command of the fleet before Dyrrachium after the battle of Pharsalia, sailed with it to the coast of Africa, where he joined the main body of the army, after marching on foot through a desert country, in order to set an example to his men. Yet the Pompeian party still wanted an able

(*b*) Nobody would bid for them out of respect to the memory of so great a man, so that Antony had them at a very low price.

general.

general. The chief command was given to Metellus Scipio, because he was a consular; and Cato having been only a prætor, refused to accept of being next in command, but left it to Varus. He staid in Africa to give counsel to a man, whose pride and presumption rendered him incapable of receiving any. Having saved Utica, which Juba would fain have destroyed upon suspicion of favouring the enemy, he shut himself up in this city, and made it his magazine of provisions and military stores.

Cæsar passes over into Africa with his usual rapidity, and gets admittance into Ruspina and Leptis, both maritime towns. It is said that at his landing, he happened to have a fall; and to prevent his men from looking upon this accident as ominous, he pretended to embrace the earth, crying out aloud, *Africa, I have hold of thee*. He used the same precaution to guard against the terror that might be impressed on his troops by the general's name. The Scipio's being considered as invincible in Africa, he took a young man along with him, of the same name and family, in order to bring the omen to his side. A brisk encounter with Labienus, who had been formerly his lieutenant in Gaul. Cæsar had need of all his courage and experience to prevent his troops from being defeated; which indeed is not surprizing, when we consider the vast superiority of the enemy. He retired in good order to his camp, where he intrenched himself, and determined to bear with the bravadoes of Metellus Scipio, till his army was reinforced. As soon as he received his succours from Sicily, he marched out of his camp, in order to fight the enemy. A general engagement in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, a considerable town on the sea coast, which Cæsar had laid siege to with a view to bring Scipio and Juba to a battle. It is said that just at the very minute while Cæsar was giving his orders, he was attacked with an epileptic fit, a complaint to which he was subject; and therefore was not present at this battle, though his troops obtained a complete victory: still he has justly the glory of it, since it was a consequence of the excellent dispositions he had before the engagement. His absence was known only by the inhuman slaughter of the conquered, after they had been forced in their camp, notwithstanding they had lain down their arms and begged for quarter.

Cæsar lays siege to Thapsus and Thydrus, and after taking Usceta and Adrunetum, he draws near to Utica. Cato finding it impossible to make a stand in this city, whose fidelity he suspected, sends a few senators his friends on board some vessels prepared for that purpose; then stabbing himself with his sword, he puts an end to his life. This last act confirmed the reputation he had always enjoyed, of constancy and resolution. It might prove, on the other hand, that he ran too easily into extremes; and upon examining more minutely into the so much boasted virtue of this celebrated Roman, we shall find it was partly owing to constitution and temper. He had very few vices: but to these he was a perfect slave. He was fond of wine to excess. What shall we think of his making a present of his wife Marcia to Hortensius the orator?

Cæsar passes over into Africa.

The battle of Thapsus, in which Cæsar obtains a complete victory.

Siege of Utica.

Cato kills himself.

His cha-
racter.

orator (c)? Is not this rather a mean complaisance, than an act of friendship? especially as he loved Marcia, by whom he had several children; and as he was in a hurry to take her again, after the death of Hortensius. He was possessed of many virtues, but he strained them to too great a pitch: it was pride, and not magnanimity, to deny he was offended with a man, who had given him a box on the ear. His simplicity degenerated into singularity, so as to appear in public at noon day in his tunic and slippers, in order to accustom himself, as he said, to be ashamed of nothing but what was really deserving of shame. However, it cannot be denied but that he was a man of an unblemished life, and that his affection for his fellow citizens, his moderation and good temper, his dignity of sentiment, his sound judgment, extensive learning, undaunted courage, love of justice and the public good, would have rendered him the idol of the people, if those virtues had not been sullied by a morose behaviour, in consequence of which he was rather admired than beloved. In short, he was one of those extraordinary men, whose example we should not attempt to imitate in every particular. Caesar hearing of his death, uttered these words: *O Cato, I envy thee the glory of thy death, since thou hast envied me that of saving thy life!* Was this expression sincere? Plutarch agrees there is reason to doubt it, and perhaps Caesar spoke in this manner, for no other reason but because he was sensible it became a great man to lament the death of a hero. This however is certain, that after the inhabitants of Utica had opened their gates to him, he sincerely pardoned Cato's son, and all the Romans of distinction, except Asianus, Faustus Sylla, and his kinsman Lucius Caesar, who were some time after killed by his orders.

Utica
submits
to Caesar.

Caesar
reduces
Mauritania
and Numi-
dia.

Cato's death was the forerunner, as it were, of that of Juba and Metellus Scipio. In vain did these two unhappy leaders of the Pompeian party endeavour to save themselves; the former in his own dominions, the latter in Spain, where Pompey's son had renewed the war. Juba being detested by his subjects for his cruelty, found them all up in arms: the inhabitants of Zama, his capital city, that

(c) This passage in Cato's life gave rise to the common opinion about borrowing and lending of wives among the Romans. The mistake is, the women on those occasions were not lent, or let out, but given, in consequence of that sort of marriage, by which a woman was made a wife only by possession and use, and after the bearing of three or four children, might be lawfully given to another man. Thus Strabo in his seventh book says, *ὁ καθάπερ καὶ Κάτων Ὀρτensίῳ δανείζει ἐξιδάκει τὴν Μαρκίαν ἐπ' ἱμεῶν, κατὰ παλαιὰν Ῥωμαίων ἥθος*; as Cato in our time, at the request of Hortensius, gave him his wife Marcia, according to the old custom of the Romans. Where by ἐξιδάκει we should understand the marrying them to new husbands. This is confirmed by Plutarch, who mentioning this very affair, says, that Hortensius expressed his earnest desire to Cato, that he would let him have his wife. Cato did not deny his request, but said that Marcia's father ought to be consulted; who being sent for, and finding that all parties consented, gave his daughter away to Hortensius. So that this was making a divorce, and marrying her to another husband.

her gates against him; and Cæsar being just arrived with his army, this poor prince looking upon death as his only resource, caused one of his slaves to put an end to his life. On the other hand, Metellus Scipio endeavouring to get to Spain, where Cneius the eldest son of Pompey had raised a considerable party, was obliged by bad weather to put into Hippo, where he found Silius's fleet, which immediately surrounded him: and he had but just time to run himself through the body, lest he should be taken prisoner by the enemy. Cæsar having made himself master of Thapsus and Thydrus by capitulation, lays very heavy contributions on all the conquered towns, and reduces Numidia to a Roman province. Then he sets out for Italy, after terminating the African war in five months and a half. His stay at Rome was taken up in triumphing successively over the Gauls, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. The triumph over the Gauls was distinguished by golden figures of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Ocean, which were led in captivity: among the prisoners appeared Vercingetorix, the unfortunate champion of the liberty of his country, who, after the ceremony, was thrown into a dungeon, and put to death. Arsinoë, sister to Cleopatra, walked among the prisoners in the second triumph, but was afterwards set at liberty: before the chariot was carried the representation of the river Nile, and the tower of Pharos. The triumph over Pharnaces was remarkable for an inscription with these three words, *veni, vidi, vici*: and the son of Juba, who was very young, adorned the fourth. Cæsar may be said to have triumphed at the same time over the liberty of his fellow citizens; for the whole city of Rome resounded with the tyrant's praises. The senate debased themselves by a multitude of decrees, abounding with the most abject flattery: remarkable among the rest was one which ordained that Cæsar's chariot should be drawn, on triumphal days, by four white horses, like the chariots of Jupiter and Apollo; and that he should be attended, on those occasions, by seventy two lictors: nay, they went so far as to place his statue in a triumphal chariot in the capitol, opposite to that of Jupiter, with the globe under his feet, and this inscription, *to Cæsar a demi-god*. To these marks of honour, they added the dictatorship for ten years, and the dignity of inspector of manners, that is, of censor, for three years. Cæsar was sensible that this was investing him in a manner with the supreme power: being resolved to use it with moderation, he explained his sentiments, and even made a solemn declaration on that head to the senate. His liberality towards the soldiers was proportioned to their services, and to his own immense riches, though not to their greedy expectations. Besides a distribution of lands, every foot soldier received twenty thousand sesterces, that is about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling; the centurions had double that sum; the tribunes and knights had four times as much. The people partook of Cæsar's liberality, and received considerable distributions in money, corn, and oil. The triumphs were succeeded by public entertainments, when two and twenty thousand tables were set up in the streets of Rome, and served with the utmost profusion. The people were diverted with

Juba puts
an end to
his life.

End of the
African
war.
Cæsar's four
triumphs.

Honours
bestowed on
him by the
senate and
people

His liberality
to the
soldiers and
people.

all

His excel-
lent laws.

He reforms
the calen-
dar.

all kinds of magnificent shows; on which occasion persons of the equestrian order were seen to fight with gladiators; a strong proof of the degeneracy of the Romans. These entertainments were given to solemnize the funeral of Cæsar's daughter, who died several years before, and to celebrate the dedication of a temple to Venus, as also of a new forum which he had caused to be built at Rome. Notwithstanding such a multitude of amusements, he found time to pass several excellent laws. In order to repair the loss of inhabitants, he assigned rewards to fathers that had numerous families: to encourage learning, he granted the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to professors of the polite arts: he revived the old laws against the expence of seals, and made new ones to restrain the luxury of dress, taking care himself to see them executed: in short, he reformed the calendar (d) which was fallen into such confusion, that besides the
twenty

(d) Romulus divided the year into ten months, which consisted of three hundred and four days; but Numa added two more, viz. January and February, which made his year to contain three hundred and fifty four days. But this computation falling too short of the space of a regular year by ten days and six hours yearly, it occasioned every eighth an interposition of three whole months, which they called the intercalary or leap-year. The care of this intercalation being left to the priests, they clapped in or left out a month whenever they pleased, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, till at last there was such disorder, that festivals came to be kept at a season contrary to that which was first intended. To remedy this inconveniency, Julius Cæsar added the old ten days to Numa's year, and lest the odd six hours should breed any confusion, he ordered that every fourth year one whole day should be inserted next after the twenty third of February, or next before the sixth of the calends of March: for which reason the supernumerary day had the name of *dies bis sextus*, and thence the leap-year came to be called *annus bissextilis*. This is the Julian or old style. Yet because there wanted eleven minutes in the six odd hours of Julius's year, the equinoxes and solstices losing something continually, were found about the year 1584 to have run back ten whole days; for which reason Pope Gregory XIII. cut off ten days to bring them to their proper places; and this is called the Gregorian or new style.

The old Romans began their year in March, hence those two months, which in honour of Julius and Augustus Cæsar have been since called *Julius* and *Augustus*, were by them called *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*. They reckoned the days of their months by calends, nones, and ides. The calends were the first day of the month; so denominated from the old word *calo*, or the Greek *καλῶ*, *to call*, because on this day one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people, and call over as many days as there were between that and the nones. But this custom continued no longer than the year U. C. 450, when the *Fasti* were set up in public places, that every body might know the return of the festivals. The nones had this name given them, because they reckoned nine days from them to the ides. The ides were generally about the middle of the month; so that we may derive the word from the obsolete *iduate*, *to divide*. March, May, July, and October, had six nones apiece, the other only four. Therefore in the first, the nones were the seventh, and the ides the fifteenth; in the last, the nones the fifth, and the ides the thirteenth. In reckoning these they always went backwards, so that January 1 was, *kalendis Januarii*; December 31, *pridie kalendas Januarii*; December 30, *tertio kalendas Januarii* (where *ante* is understood) and so on to the thirteenth, and that was, *idibus Decembris*; the twelfth, *pridie idus Decembris*; and the rest in the same manner.

The

twenty seven days for the intercalary month, which happened to be in the present year, they were obliged to add sixty seven, so that upon the whole this year consisted of four hundred and forty five days. These regulations did great honour to the dictator, but not so as to make amends for the error he committed in increasing the number of senators, and raising so many mean persons to that dignity; for they reckoned now no less than nine hundred members: this was a consequence of the principle he had laid down to reward all those that had done him any service.

About this time Cicero being forced into retirement, by the total oblivion into which he was fallen since the death of Pompey, composed most of his philosophical works, which shew the solidity of his judgment, and the integrity of his heart. Yet it must be allowed, that his conduct did not always correspond with the philosophy contained in his writings; witness, among several other things, his growing so disconsolate the next year upon the death of his daughter Tullia.

Cicero writes his philosophical works.

708.

The Spanish war against the sons of Pompey. This was intirely owing to the ill conduct of Quintus Cassius Longinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, whose cruelty and avarice had provoked the people to revolt. Cneius, the eldest son of Pompey, availed himself of this glimmering of good fortune, and by Cato's advice went and put himself at the head of the malecontents. After the defeat of Metellus Scipio in Africa, he collected some of the scattered remains of that army; and his brother Sextus having joined him with a considerable number of ships, he had now under his command thirteen legions, with a proportionable fleet. Historians do not mention what number of troops Cæsar ordered to march against so formidable an enemy: this we know only, that looking upon the danger to be of such a nature as

The Spanish war with Pompey's sons.

The Romans had other distinctions of days, such as *dies festi*, *profesti*, and *intercisi*. The first were consecrated to the gods, the second to civil business, and the third were divided between both. The *dies festi* were set apart for the celebration of these four solemnities, *sacrificia*, *epulae*, *ludi*, et *feriae*: the three first were sacrifices, banquets, and public sports instituted in honour of the gods. *Feriae* were either public or private. They were of four sorts, *stativæ*, public feasts kept by the whole city, according to the order of the calendar; *conceptivæ*, such as depended on the will of the magistrates and priests; and *imperativæ*, such as the consuls, &c. appointed to be observed upon solemn occasions, as the gaining of a victory, &c. *Nundinae* were the same as our markets or fairs. *Feriae privatae* were holy-days observed by particular persons on particular accounts. The *dies profesti* were *fasti*, *comitiales*, *comperendini*, *stati*, and *præliares*. The *dies fasti* were the same as our court-days. *Comitiales* were those on which the public assemblies of the people were held. *Comperendini* were days of adjournment, when people might give in bail: *stati* were days for trying a cause between a Roman and a foreigner: *præliares*, were those on which it was thought lawful to fight, which they would not do, unless they were first attacked, on the *Saturnalia*, and the *feriae Latinae*. The next day after the calends, nones, or ides of every month, called *dies prostridui*, were reckoned unfortunate, and therefore had the denomination of *atri*, or black, because those days had always proved unlucky to the state.

required

Cæsar sets
out for
Spain.

The battle
of Munda.

Death of
Cneius
Pompeius.

Fate of the
younger
Pompey.

All Bætica
submits to
Cæsar.

Cæsar re-
turns to
Rome.

required his presence, he set out for Spain towards the end of the preceding year. In the beginning of the campaign he obliged Cneius to raise the siege of Ulla (*e*), and made himself master of Ategua (*f*), one of the strongest cities in Bætica, within sight of the enemy's army. The battle of Munda (*g*) the seventeenth of March (the same day that Pompey the Great embarked at Brundisium four years before to go over to Greece). In this battle, which put an end to the civil war, fortune had like to have proved more favourable to the son than to the father. Cæsar was so greatly distressed, according to Suetonius and Florus, that giving up all for lost, he had some thoughts of killing himself; and when he got back to his camp, he said that in other places he had fought for victory, but at Munda for life. At length his speeches, his example, and his good fortune, determined the battle in his favour. A sudden report flew through both armies, that Labienus was flying with some of Pompey's cohorts, whereas he was only going to meet Cæsar's auxiliaries, who had attacked Pompey's camp, expecting to find it defenceless in the heat of the engagement. The minds of the soldiers being once prejudiced with the notion of his flight, this false report had the same effect as if it had been well founded. Pompey's troops being seized with a panic, began to give way, and to retire in disorder; upon which Cæsar's men resuming new vigour, charged the enemy briskly again, kill thirty thousand on the spot, and obtained a complete victory. Part of the conquered army fled back to their camp, which was forced the same day; the rest shut themselves up in Munda, which was besieged and taken a month after. Cneius Pompeius having received several wounds in an engagement with some of Cæsar's party, who were sent in pursuit of him, was afterwards found in a cave, where he had concealed himself: the enemy put him to death, and carried his head to Cæsar. Sextus, the last sprig of this illustrious family, was less unfortunate; he withdrew to the mountains of Celtiberia, where he led a wandering life, and owed his safety to the obscurity of his retirement.

All Bætica submits to Cæsar; who summons the several deputies of the towns and provinces of Spain to Hispalis (*h*), and according to custom, distributes punishments and rewards before his departure. He returned to Rome in the month of October. The people were greatly offended with his being so imprudent as to enter the city in triumph, and to bestow the same honour on his lieutenants Q. Fabius and Q. Rhodius, for the victory obtained over young Pompey: this was glorying, says Plutarch, in an event, which nothing but absolute necessity could render excusable before the gods or men. Yet

(*e*) Some call it Ulla.

(*f*) About sixteen miles from Corduba.

(*g*) The town of Munda stood in the province of Bætica, about twenty miles from Malaga, in a fruitful plain, watered by a rivulet. At present it is a poor village known by its ancient name.

(*h*) Now Seville.

the senate were most lavish of their flattery ; even beyond what they had been the preceding year : they ordered public thanksgivings to the gods during fifteen days for the victory at Munda ; they changed the name of the month *Quintilis*, in which Cæsar was born, into that of *Julius*, which it still retains. They granted him the liberty of wearing a triumphal robe on days of festival, and at all times a crown of laurel ; they decreed statues to him, and a particular place of distinction at public shews ; in short, they conferred upon him all the extraordinary marks of respect they could imagine, and even divine honours, with the title of *Jupiter Julius*. Cæsar seemed greatly pleased, especially when they granted him the privilege of always wearing a crown of laurel ; not so much for its distinguishing him from the rest of his fellow citizens, as for giving him an opportunity to hide his baldness ; a circumstance worthy of observing in such a man as Cæsar, and at his age, for he was then in his fifty sixth year. His passions had not as yet subsided, since it was deliberated in the senate, whether they should not invest him with such a power over the Roman ladies, as is shocking to modesty. He was moreover declared general in chief of all the forces of the republic by the title of *Imperator*, or *emperor*, as likewise father of his country, consul for ten years, and perpetual dictator ; but he refused the decennial consulate, which indeed was of very little use to a perpetual dictator. He abdicates the consulate after having exercised that office hitherto by himself only, is appointed consul for the following year, and causes Q. Fabius Maximus, and Caius Trebonius to be elected to that dignity for the three remaining months. This he did to gratify his friends, who all aspired to the consulate. With this view he conferred consular ornaments on ten ancient prætors, and named Cornificius in the room of Q. Fabius, who died suddenly the last day of December. This new consul had only seventeen hours to continue in office, so that Cicero by way of raillery said to those who were going to pay their compliments to him upon his nomination : *make haste, lest he be gone out of his office before you get to his house*. Yet he himself did not disdain to accept of the dictator's favours, for he was one of the new patricians whom Cæsar had created in order to fill up the vacancy made by the civil wars.

709.

One would imagine, that Cæsar being arrived to so high a pitch of grandeur, had nothing more to do, than to sit down and enjoy his good fortune in quiet : but quiet was incompatible with his ambition ; and he was still desirous of attaining to a greater degree of power. After so many glorious victories, he intended to triumph also over the Parthians, against whom he resolved immediately to wage war. It is impossible to conceive any thing more magnificent than the projects he had formed for the public service : such as to embellish the city of Rome with new edifices ; to employ the learned Varro in collecting a number of libraries, for public use ; to reform the civil law, and reduce it within a narrower compass ; to draw a geographical description of the whole

He aims at
royalty.

whole empire; to dig a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, capable of receiving the largest vessels; to drain the Pomptine marshes, which rendered a great part of Latium very unwholesome; and lastly, to cut the isthmus of Corinth, in order to effect the junction of the Ægean and Ionian seas. Such enterprizes shewed that Cæsar was worthy of commanding the Romans, and perhaps they would have suffered him to be their master, if his ambition had not prompted him to assume the regal title. Of this he gave some hints to his friends; Antony, whom he had chosen for his colleague in the consulate, went so far as to present him with a diadem on the day of the feast of the Lupercalia; and the senate were so condescending, as to place his statue in the capitol, among the kings of Rome: but unluckily that of L. Brutus was in the middle. This founder of the Roman liberty seemed to menace Cæsar with that very arm, which had expelled the Tarquins: the scene was striking, and attracted the eyes of all the citizens, who muttered to one another, asking whether there was no possibility of finding a second Brutus.

Conspiracy
of Brutus
and Cassius.
Cæsar killed
in the
senate-
house.

Conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius (e). They assassinate Cæsar in the senate-house on the ides of March, and he drops down before the pedestal of Pompey's statue. It is said, that most of the senators had resolved to confer on him that very day, the title of king throughout the empire, except in Italy. Brutus and Cassius had upwards of sixty accomplices, all senators or knights, among whom were several of Cæsar's old friends: neither is this at all surprizing, when we reflect on the strong aversion which the Romans naturally bore to tyranny. But we are concerned to see Brutus at their head; Brutus, who was looked upon as the most amiable and most virtuous man of his age; Brutus,

(e) The chief of the conspirators, besides Brutus and Cassius, were C. Trebonius, Servius Sulpicius Galba, the two Servilius Casca's, Publius Caius, Decimus Brutus Albinus, Tullius Cimber, and Lucius Minutius Bacilius. These had all served under Cæsar from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon as his most trusty friends. It was more easy to draw into the conspiracy those who had always shewn an utter aversion to Cæsar's usurpation; among whom were M. Junius Brutus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and many others, to the number of sixty. When Cæsar was seated in the great hall, the conspirators crowded round, pretending to join their supplications with those of Metellus Cimber, in behalf of his brother, who was banished. Cæsar rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther, pushed them from him. Hereupon Metellus pulled off the dictator's robe from his shoulders, and Servilius Casca gave him the first wound in the neck. Cæsar turning about, seized Casca by the hand which held the dagger, and cried out in Latin, *Wicked Casca, what dost thou mean?* and Casca called out to his brother, in Greek, to help him. The conspirators enclosed him on all sides with their daggers in their hands. Those who were not privy to the design, were struck with such horror, that they could neither fly nor assist Cæsar. The hero thus baited on all sides, to use Plutarch's expression, like a wild beast taken in a toil, defended himself in the best manner he could, till looking round him, to see if he could make his escape, he perceived Brutus with his dagger in his hand. This stung him to the heart, so that he struggled no more; but crying out, *What! my son Brutus, and thou too!* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly submitted to his fate. The conspirators then dispatched him with three and twenty wounds.

who

who was supposed to be the natural son of Cæsar, by whom he was tenderly beloved, to whom he was indebted for part of his fortune, and even for his life ; since at the victory of Pharsalia, Cæsar's chief attention was to preserve Brutus. This conspirator looked upon himself as a descendant, by his father's side, of L. Brutus, the founder of the Roman liberty ; but by his mother Servilia he was certainly descended from Servilius Ahala, a name dear to the Romans for killing Spurius Mælius, who had aspired to tyranny. Such were, in all probability, the chief motives, which induced him to commit so surprising an action. With regard to Cæsar, it is beyond doubt, that he deserved death as much as Catiline, and that the killing of him would have been justifiable, had he been condemned in a juridical way, like that famous conspirator (f).

Brutus's debt, obligations to Cæsar, &c.

Cæsar resembled Catiline in many respects, but had greater abilities, and was more successful. Catiline was drawn into rebellion by madness and despair ; Cæsar was naturally formed for it. Whatever he engaged in, whether love, treason, or fighting, he went through with spirit. He seemed born to command. When he was but a young man, and happened to be taken prisoner by pirates, he behaved towards them with authority, ordered them to set him ashore, and chastised them for having dared to abridge his liberty. His accomplishments were very great ; such as a majestic figure ; a constitution, though naturally infirm, yet inured by constant and early exercise, either to excessive labour, or to debauch ; wit joined with solidity ; a manly eloquence, proportioned to circumstances, times, and persons, and equally adapted to captivate the breast of a female, or to animate the soldier ; a surprising boldness in planning the noblest enterprizes, with a prodigious activity in conducting them to a happy issue ; but above all, a surprising skill in training his soldiers after his own example, for every man under his command was a hero. Add to this a boundless ambition, together with the most undaunted courage. Though always in debt, he still appeared rich ; though always tottering, he maintained his ground, because he was never at a loss for expedients upon any emergency. Had he been crushed at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, he would have made but an indifferent figure : but as he escaped, his name is ranked in the same class with that of Alexander. I shall wave saying any thing of his clemency, which does him so much honour ; perhaps he makes a right estimation of it himself in the letter above mentioned. And yet we are obliged to acknowledge that on many occasions it seemed to flow from a nobler source, from a real magnanimity superior to injuries, and to those that

Cæsar's character.

(f) By the Roman laws the dominion of one was tyranny, and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant : *cum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reason that can be alledged against killing Cæsar, is that of Seneca, viz. that the state was irretrievable, and an usurper become a necessary evil ; but Brutus, Cicero, and the senate judged otherwise. As for his not being put to death by the forms of law, his usurped power had rendered it impossible.

committed them. Cæsar acted like those champions, who after they have thrown their adversary to the ground, restore his arms to him again, and seem to challenge him to another encounter.

His death
attended
with di-
sturbances.

His death was attended with most horrid disturbances, so that Seneca justly accuses Brutus of imprudence, since in freeing his country of a tyrant, he had it not in his power to abolish tyranny. As affairs stood, the question was no longer whether the republic was to have a master, but who should be the person. The city was divided into two parties, one held for the conspirators, the other for Antony and Lepidus: these two men, under the pretence of revenging the death of Cæsar, whose particular favourites they had been, aspired to the same pitch of power which Cæsar had enjoyed. As both parties were afraid of each other, they entered into a treaty; the senate assembled, and with joint consent, a decree was passed, that no inquiries should be made into the dictator's death, but all his acts should be confirmed, and his funeral performed at the public expence. The tranquillity which followed this regulation was complete, though of short duration. Brutus and Antony were reconciled; and at another meeting of the senate, the best provinces were given or confirmed to the chief conspirators. But the troubles were renewed upon opening Cæsar's testament (g), wherein he bequeathed a certain sum to each citizen. The people affected with this last mark of his generosity, began to lament the loss of their benefactor: but at his funeral

(g) *Testamentum*, testament, was so called, because it was a declaration of the testator's will. There were three sorts of testaments among the ancients; the first was *in pace*, in time of peace: they likewise called it *calatis comitiis*, because it was made at the assemblies of the people. The second was in time of war, when they were going to take the field, and this they called *in procinctu*, because they were *quasi accincti* and *parati ad pugnandum*. These two were very ancient; Plutarch in Coriol. mentions a testament *in procinctu* in the time of Coriolanus, who lived before the decemvirs; and the same author in *Romulus* takes notice of the testament *in pace* under the regal government, where Tarrutius, in the reign of Ancus Marcius, is said to have declared Laurentia his heir before his death, *τελευτήσας ἀποκρύψαι πληροῦμεν*. But these sorts of testaments fell into disuse after the publication of the laws of the twelve tables. The third was *per æs et libram*, which they performed by *mancipation*, or by an imaginary sale in presence of five witnesses, with a man who held the scales, and the person who bought the inheritance for a small piece of brass, all Roman citizens, and arrived at the age of maturity. The following words were used on this occasion by the buyer, who was called *familiæ emptor*; *Hujus ego familiam, quæ mihi emptæ est hoc ære, æneaque libra, jure Quiritium, meam esse ajo*. Then the testator or seller, holding the tables, said: *Hæc uti his tabulis, cerisve scripta sunt, ita do, ita lego, ita testor; itaque vos Quirites testimonium præbitote*: and this was called the *nuncupatio testamenti*: this form of testament lasted a long time, but received some alteration under the emperors. The testament was written (as the Romans used to write) in tables of wood covered over with wax. These tables were made of the *caudex*, or stock of a tree, whence we still call our books *codices*. They wrote with an instrument of steel, called *stylus*, having a sharp point at one end, and broad, but keen and well edged at the other. With the sharp point they wrote what they pleased, and with the broad end they scraped out what they had written, -

they

they seemed to be transported even to madness, when Antony displayed the dictator's bloody robe, with his image in wax, representing the three and twenty wounds which he had received at his death. Brutus and his accomplices would have been burnt in their houses, had they not got a proper guard to protect them. Antony rises up the populace.

Yet it was not time for Antony to discover himself: his aim was only to sound the inclinations of the people; but as he stood in need of the assistance of the senate, he took several steps to regain their friendship. First he caused a decree to be published, in order to prevent any abuse that might be made of Cæsar's papers, which were in his custody; secondly, he got a law passed at an assembly of the people, abolishing the name and dignity of dictator for ever; thirdly, he proposed the recalling of Sextus Pompeius, and of investing him with the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic, in the same manner as his father had enjoyed; he likewise recommended that an immense sum should be taken out of the public treasure, to make good the loss of his paternal estate. But he soon pulled off the mask: pretending to be afraid of the people, who adored the memory of Cæsar, he demanded a guard of the senate for the security of his person, under which pretence he chose six thousand veterans. Further, not content with the dictator's treasures, which his widow Calpurnia had put into his hands, he made a traffick of false acts and deeds, as if they had been signed by Cæsar; and in contempt of the law which he himself had procured on this occasion, he sold them publicly to every body that wanted to purchase favours or privileges. Brutus and Cassius terrified at the degree of power to which they saw him raised, while they themselves, though protected by the senate, had neither men nor money, resolved to retire from Rome, and go over to Athens, with a view of being nearer at hand to take possession of their governments of Macedon and Syria. Antony prevails on the people to deprive them of those provinces, and to invest him with the government of Macedonia, which had been given to Brutus. Antony endeavours to gain the senate by false artifices. He pulls off the mask.

His measures were thwarted by the arrival of Octavius (b). This young Roman was come to take possession of the estate of his great uncle Cæsar, who had instituted him his heir to three fourths, and adopted him for his son. He was then in his nineteenth year, and though greatly caressed by the dictator, he had made no figure as yet but at triumphant entries, and public games: for his youth and delicate constitution prevented him from entering into the army. He soon displayed a maturity of judgment far superior to his age, and shewed himself a con- And governs with an absolute sway. His character.

(b) Octavius was the son of Caius Octavius of the senatorial order, and of Accia daughter to Julia, Cæsar's sister: his grandfather bore the first employments in *Velitrae*, his native city. He was born in the consulate of Cicero and Caius Antonius, and was educated, as Suetonius says, *in avito suburbano prope Velitras*, in the country seat of his ancestors near *Velitrae*.

summate politician. There was only one prudent measure for him to pursue, which was to get in between the two factions that divided the republic, and to set them upon destroying one another; and this he pursued. He attached a great part of the senate to his interest by the means of Cicero, whom he had gained by flattery; and he conciliated the good will of the people by largesses, entertainments, and feasts. On this occasion appeared the famous comet, which Octavius endeavoured to make the world consider as a sign, that his adopted father had been received among the gods. This symbol he took care to have placed on Cæsar's statues, and we even meet with it on some of his medals. Violent quarrel between Octavius and Antony: the latter accused his young rival of having had a design to assassinate him; and Cicero pretends the thing was honourable. Endeavours are used to reconcile them, which proving ineffectual, they have recourse to arms. Antony, to have a pretence of sending for the legions from Macedonia into Italy, prevails on the people to grant him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which the senate had before conferred on Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators: he resigns that of Macedonia to his brother Caius Antonius; and sets out for Brundisium, where his troops were to rendezvous. At the same time Octavius visited several provinces of Italy, endeavouring to revive the affection which the veterans still preserved for Cæsar's memory: and by his largesses he partly succeeded. We must not omit mentioning, that before Mark Antony's departure, Cicero had pronounced in the senate-house the first of his Philippics, so called from being made in imitation of the orations of Demosthenes against Philip. A few days after, he composed a second, which he did not speak, but gave away among his friends, so that it was handed about the town: this was the source of Antony's implacable hatred against Cicero.

Quarrel
between
Octavius
and Antony.

Cicero's
Philippics.

Civil war
between
Antony and
Octavius.

Civil war. Two mistakes committed by Antony at this critical juncture, were the luckiest things that could have happened for Octavius; one was the severity with which he behaved towards the troops that surrendered at Brundisium, and which occasioned two out of the five legions under his command to desert to the enemy; the other was the presumption he had to come to Rome with one of his legions, affecting to spread terror wherever he went, even so as to say, *that none but the victorious ought to expect to live*. In this emergency, the senate were obliged to accept of the proposal made by Octavius, who, like an able politician, offered them his service, together with the troops under his command. The senate pass a decree, approving of Octavius's measures, as well as those of Decimus Brutus: the latter was, at the head of three legions, preparing to oppose Antony, who was on his march to seize on Cisalpine Gaul. The decree was passed by Cicero's advice. On this occasion, he pronounced his third and fourth Philippics, one before the senate, and the other in the presence of the people. It might have been said that the existence of this great

great man was connected with that of the republic; for he had been long sunk into a kind of annihilation, and of all his former honours there remained only that of eloquence: but he recovered somewhat of his ancient vigour, in proportion as the republican party appeared to raise its head. He was soon undeceived in regard to Octavius; for he found that the forces under that young man's command, belonged to their general and not to the republic; so that the friends of liberty could confide in no other troops, than those of the conspirators. In Italy, D. Brutus not being strong enough to keep the field against Antony, shut himself up in Mutina (a), where he was besieged by that commander. On the other hand, M. Brutus had quickly raised a considerable force: for he not only got possession of his government of Macedonia, and took upon him the command of the troops in that province; but likewise collected a powerful army, and saw himself suddenly master of Greece, Illyricum, and Thrace. Cassius was also making a very rapid progress in the East. The remembrance of the services he had formerly done to Syria, disposed the inhabitants so greatly in his favour, that having by extraordinary diligence got the start of Dolabella, on whom Antony had conferred the government of that province, he was received with open arms, and with the same ease assumed the command of eight legions quartered in that country. Not long after, he obliged Allienus to deliver up to him four legions more, which Cleopatra queen of Egypt was sending to Dolabella; and having taken the town of Laodicea, where that general had shut himself up, he reduced him to the necessity of ordering one of his slaves to cut off his head. Brutus on the other hand defeated C. Antonius, for whom his brother had procured the government of Macedonia; and took him prisoner.

Antony lays
siege to
Mutina.

710.

But the latter events belong to this year, in which A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa were consuls. Though they held this place by Caesar's nomination, yet they joined with the senate against Antony, who pretended to revenge his death; but the public voice was against him, and every body looked upon him as an enemy to the state: the senate, after sending a deputation to endeavour to bring him to terms, declared there was a *tumult*. Cicero had belaboured himself to such a degree in this whole affair, as to pronounce nine Philippics on different occasions against Antony, besides the four already mentioned. The consuls and Octavius take the field, and advance towards Mutina, with an intent to raise the siege. Antony has the advantage in the

Antony
declared an
enemy to
his country.

Antony
defeats the
consul
Pansa;

(a) A city of Gallia Cisalpina, situate on the *via Æmilia*, between the rivers *Gabellus* and *Scultenna*, and now called *Modena*. It was a Roman colony, as appears from Cicero, who, *Phillip. 5.* says, *circumsedit Mutinam, firmissimam et splendidissimam populi Romani coloniam*. Silius mentions it, *lib. 8.* *Certavit Mutinæ quassata Placentia bello.*

But is first engagement, in which Pansa, one of the consuls, received two
 defeated the mortal wounds; but he is defeated the same day by Hirtius, as he was
 same day by returning to his camp. Octavius having been left to guard the con-
 the consul sul's camp, makes a gallant stand against Lucius, the brother of
 Hirtius. Antony. A second engagement, in which Antony's lines are forced.
 The battle of Mutina. The consul Hirtius having been slain in this action, young Octavius
 had another opportunity of distinguishing himself. Antony raises the
 The siege of Mutina, and passes the Alps in hopes of receiving succours
 raised, from his friends. This was all that Octavius wanted; his intent was
 to humble Antony, but not to destroy him, foreseeing plainly that
 the republican party would be uppermost, and his own ruin must soon
 ensue; therefore, instead of following the blow against Antony, he

Octavius re- thought it more advisable to make some secret advances towards a
 solves to be reconciliation; especially as ever since the siege of Mutina he saw
 reconciled to himself greatly neglected by the senate, who imagined they stood in no
 Antony. further need of his assistance. The conscript fathers would not listen
 to Cicero, who, at the request of Octavius, desired the consulate for
 that young general, in hopes of being chosen his colleague. But Octa-
 Octavius vius obtained it by force: for marching to Rome with eight legions,
 marches to he entered that city as it were in triumph, the senate being unable to
 Rome, resist him; and he got himself named consul at the age of twenty, in
 and is cho- conjunction with Q. Pedius one of his coheirs.

The first step the new consul took, was to cause his adoption (b) to
 be ratified by an assembly of the curia's, as was the custom of the Ro-
 mans. In behaving thus openly as Cæsar's son and heir, he gave
 sufficient signs that he intended to avenge his death; so that it was
 not at all surprizing to see an extraordinary commission issued out for
 trying the conspirators and their accomplices. They were all con-
 He causes demned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment; and their
 the conspi- estates were confiscated, the heaviest punishment the laws could inflict
 rators to be condemned.

(b) Adoption is an act, by which a person takes for his son one who is not na-
 turally such, and gives him a right to all privileges which accompanied that title.
 The custom was very ancient among the Romans. The person that adopted was
 obliged to have no children of his own, to draw up his reasons, and to offer them to
 the *pontifices* for their approbation. If this was obtained, the consul, or some other
 magistrate, brought in a bill at the *comitia curiata*, to make the adoption valid. The
 private ceremony consisted in buying the person to be adopted of his parents, for
 a sum of money formally given and taken. If it was the free act of a person
 grown up, and his own master, it was stiled *adrogatio*; but if he was under age, it
 was called *adoptio*. This is a distinction made by Gellius, and confirmed by Ulpian
 VIII. 1. *sequ.* Adoptions were also made by will, either as to name or estate; *in*
imā cera C. Octavius etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit. The person adopted took
 the name and surname of his adoptive father, but as a mark of their own descent,
 they added at the end either their former name or their surname (*nomen* or *cognomen*)
 with this difference, that if they used the surname, they made it an adjective, as C.
 Octavius, when adopted by Cæsar, was called C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. M. Junius
 Brutus, when adopted by Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo, was called Q. Servilius Cæpio
 Agalo Brutus. A patrician was not at liberty to adopt a plebeian, though a plebeian
 could adopt a patrician.

against

against citizens. Young Cæsar in the mean time continued to negotiate with Antony, who had gained an addition of strength by the junction of Lepidus: this man, after having wavered a long time, Lepidus declared at length in favour of the party to which he had been always inclined; and as Antony stood in need of his assistance, he did not disdain to give him a share of his authority. Octavius courted them both, in order to be able to make head against Brutus and Cassius, who had no less than twenty legions under their command. In regard to Decimus Brutus, having been deserted by his troops, some of whom surrendered themselves to Antony, others to Octavius, he was slain by Antony's emissaries, who brought him his head.

Second triumvirate. The three chiefs of the Cæsarean party have an interview in the neighbourhood of Bononia (b), in a small island of the river Rhenus (c), where they come to an agreement to divide all the provinces of the empire and the supreme authority among them for five years, under the name of triumvirs, and as reformers of the republic with consular power. The conferences lasted three days, during which time they had warm debates in regard to the persons that were to be proscribed. The dilemma was very great, for the friends of one triumvir might be deemed enemies to another: at length Cicero's head was given in exchange by Octavius for Antony's uncle and for the uncle of Lepidus. This horrid convention was ratified by a promise of marriage betwixt Octavius and Clodia, Antony's daughter-in-law.

The conspirators march to Rome, and get the triumvirate confirmed by the suffrages of the people: upon which the proscription immediately follows. The public with horror beheld at the head of the list the names of Brutus brother of Lepidus, of L. Cæsar uncle to Antony, of C. Toranius who had been governor to Octavius, and of Cicero to whom this young general had so many obligations. This great orator was overtaken by the assassins near one of his country houses, from whence he was removing to the sea-side, not so much of his own inclination, as forced away by the importunity of his friends; for he had resolved to die in his own country, which he had heretofore saved from the fury of Catiline, and lately from that of Antony. He forbid his slaves to make any resistance, since it would be only dan-

(b) *Bononia*, now *Bologna*, a city of *Gallia Cispadana*, was formerly called *Felsina*, till the invasion of the Gauls, from whom it received this name. It was a Roman colony, according to Livy. lib. 37. *Ager captus de Gallis Boni fuerat; Galli Tuscos expulerant.* Tacitus calls it *Bononiensis colonia*.

(c) Now the *Reno*, a little river that falls into the Po after running by Bologna. From this congress or meeting it was also called *insula Triumvirorum*. Appian says they met in an island of the river Lavinus, συνέσαν ἀμφὶ Μωτλὴν πόλιν ἐς νοτιὰ τῷ Λαβίνῳ ποταμῷ βραχεῖαν τε καὶ ὑπτιαν. But the generality of historians are against him. Dio says, ἐν νοτιῳ τινὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ παρὰ τὴν Βονοίαν παραρρέντας, where *παρα* cannot be applied to the *Lavinus*, therefore it must be the *Rhenus*, which Pliny calls *omnis Bononiensis*. And in Silius we find—*parvique Bononia Rheni*. Suetonius also says, *ad Bononiam triumvirorum copias fuisse coactas*.

Death of
Cicero.

His
character.

gerous to themselves, and useless to their master; then putting his head out of the litter, he presented his neck with great tranquillity to the murderer. It must be allowed in praise of Cicero, that he was a lover of glory and of his country; a principle in itself honourable, though it made him commit some little failings. His ambition had no other object than glory; he feared no difficulty conducive to this point; this is what induced him to take such pains in improving himself in every ornamental branch of life, so as to make it dubious whether his natural, or his acquired accomplishments, were most considerable; and glory being the object of all his wishes, the least diminution of it gave him the greatest uneasiness. He had not sufficient fortitude to bear with disgrace, therefore he quite lost himself during the whole time of his exile. He who had made so great a figure in his consulate, was grown timorous and irresolute towards the extinction of the republic. He seemed to have lost one half of his existence, when he saw the liberties of his country subverted. Yet he pretended to be a philosopher, and was even more ambitious of this appellation than of that of an orator, perhaps because he was sensible of his not being entitled to the former, whereas the latter could not be disputed with him. He was not made to spread terror and desolation in the field; but he often faced death in the midst of Rome for the defence of his country; and at length he nobly laid down his life in the glorious cause. He was not a soldier, yet he had courage; I do not mean that rough kind of courage by which we are hurried to carnage and slaughter, but that steady resolution which properly forms the characteristic of a great man. The chief failing he can be charged with, is a little vanity, a failing however that borders in some measure on the love of glory. Yet Cicero may still be ranked among the greatest men that appeared towards the decline of the republic. Pompey had only the outward shew of virtue; Cæsar frequently neglected even to preserve the appearances of it; Cato carried his to excess; but Cicero was possessed of real virtue, together with vast abilities, and every shining accomplishment.

Further cru-
elties of the
proscribers.

The death of this great man gave prodigious pain to all honest citizens, and excessive joy to Antony. This cruel triumvir fell into immoderate laughter, when his emissaries brought him the melancholy spoils of the prince of orators, which were exposed, by his command, on the rostra, where Cicero had so often charmed the Romans with his eloquence. His son, his brother, and his nephew were proscribed at the same time: the two last were put to death; but the first escaped, being at that time with Brutus, and was afterwards taken into favour by Octavius, who made him consul. The particulars of this proscription are long and melancholy; let it suffice to observe in general, that it was more numerous than that of Sylla, and attended with circumstances of greater horror. Several unnatural children delivered up their fathers to the executioner, in order to partake of their spoils; a great number of citizens, who had the misfortune of being rich, were inserted for this very reason in the fatal list, and among the rest an infant, who

WAS

was obliged to take the manly gown, that he might be reckoned of man's estate, and proscribed as such. To reward, or rather to reproach the triumvirs for these horrid cruelties, the senate decreed them a *corona civica*, the recompence of those who saved the life of a citizen. But several of the proscribed fled for shelter to Brutus's camp in Macedonia, or to Cassius in Asia, or to Cornificius, who held out for the republican party in Africa, and especially to Sextus Pompeius, who, though proscribed himself, had seized on the island of Sicily, by the help of a powerful fleet, which he had collected together as commander in chief of the naval forces of the republic.

Towards the close of this year, the consuls appointed for the remaining part of it, were Caius Catinus, substituted in the room of Quint. Pedius, who died with over heating himself; and C. Ventidius, a man of merit, in favour of whom the triumvirs had agreed that Octavius should resign, to reward him for the several services done to Antony. But the consulate, properly speaking, was no more than a name since the death of Hirtius and Pansa; for instance, Plancus, who served this office the very next year along with the triumvir Lepidus, was rather his minister than his colleague. This Plancus was one of those whom Cæsar had appointed consuls; and the triumvirs took care to follow his example: hence they nominated all the magistrates of Rome for several years to come.

711.

To this year we may refer the tax, which the triumvirs laid on Tax on the fourteen hundred ladies of the first quality in Rome, though it was Roman raised only on four hundred, at the intercession of Hortensia, daughter ladies. of the orator Hortensius, and heir to his great accomplishments. The very nature of this tax alone is sufficient to shew that the triumvirs were distressed for money: neither had they recourse to this, till after trying all sorts of extortion and rapine, in order to glut the avarice of the soldiers, who served them only upon condition of sharing the profits of their tyranny.

The triumvirs swore, and made every citizen swear, to observe Cæsar's laws and regulations. This oath was afterwards renewed on the first of January every year, and from thence was derived the custom of taking the like oath under the emperors, in the name of the reigning prince and all his predecessors.

During these transactions, powerful armies were in motion on all sides; and the time was drawing near, in which the republican party was either to destroy, or be destroyed by, the triumvirs. The troops under the command of Antony and Octavius had sailed from Brundisium, to the number of a hundred thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse, and fortunately landed in Epirus, notwithstanding the vigilance of Statius Murcus, who on that same coast commanded the enemy's fleet of sixty sail: these two triumvirs followed soon after, leaving Lepidus at Rome. On the other hand, the army under Brutus and Cassius, consisting of eighty thousand men, was advancing Antony and Octavius pass over into Macedon. with

Brutus and
Cassius
march to
meet them.

with all expedition towards the enemy. The two republican generals had joined their forces at Sardis in Lydia, where they solemnly received from their troops the title of *imperator*, which both of them had deserved, without acquiring equal glory. Cassius had stained his victory over the Rhodians (*d*) with an unseasonable severity, and given room to many complaints; Brutus had heightened the lustre of his successes in Thrace and Lycia, by his lenity and moderation. He shewed himself greatly superior to the other, since he acted merely from principle, and as a defender of the Roman liberties; whereas Cassius without him would have moved in a much lower sphere. They marched their army beyond the town of Philippi in Macedonia, and posted themselves in a very advantageous spot, waiting for the enemy, who quickly appeared.

The first
battle of
Philippi.

Cassius's
death.

The first battle of Philippi (*e*). Cassius is defeated by Antony, while Brutus obtains a complete victory over Octavius. Things would have been pretty even; had it not been for Cassius's precipitate despair, who giving up every thing as lost, retired to his tent, where he ordered one of his freedmen to kill him (*f*). His death inclined the balance in favour of the triumvirs. Brutus of the two was the honestest man, Cassius the best general: this battle had been fought contrary to his opinion; for the enemy's army began to be greatly distressed through want of provisions, which were brought from a great distance, and those even in a small quantity, since Murcus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Sextus Pompeius, had with their several navies cut off all communication by sea. Brutus lamented the death of his friend, calling him the last of the Romans; but did not lose courage. He was still able to make head against the triumvirs, especially if he had suffered their army to moulder away for want of provisions, as Cassius advised him; and it is thought he would have followed this advice, had he known that the combined squadrons of Murcus and Domitius had lately destroyed a considerable reinforcement that was coming to the triumvirs. This event, though so public and so well known in the triumviral army, never came to his knowledge, for what reason we know not. We must acknowledge with Plutarch,

(*d*) The Rhodians and Lycians had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours, underhand, to the triumvirs.

(*e*) *Philippi* was a city of Macedon, bordering on Thrace, and so called from Philip the father of Alexander, who fortified it against the incursions of the Thracians. It was situated on a rising ground, which abounded with springs; on the north it had several hills covered with woods, on the south a marsh which reached to the *Ægean* sea, on the east the straits of *Topiris*, which some call the straits of *Symbolon*, and on the west a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*. St. Paul wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of this city, and in the *Acts* of the apostles it is called a colony, and town of Macedonia, ἡτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, καὶ λώγια.

(*f*) Livy, lib. 124, says he dispatched himself with the same dagger, with which he had killed *Cæsar*.

that

that it was impossible for the empire to be longer governed by an authority divided amongst many; therefore as it stood in need of a single chief, God was pleased to take away the only man capable of opposing him, whom he destined to be ruler of the world, and hindered Brutus from availing himself of an event which would have certainly rendered him triumphant.

The second battle of Philippi. Brutus had the advantage at first in the right wing, where he commanded in person; but his left wing being greatly extended for fear of being taken in flank, the center was left too much exposed, and the triumvirs having bent all their force that way, broke through the enemy's ranks, and threw them into disorder. Octavius pushed as far as their camp, which he took; Antony attacked Brutus in the rear, and surrounding him on all sides, obtained a complete victory. Brutus did not quit the field, till he was quite overpowered; his principal officers not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, died sword in hand, in the posts assigned them. Among these were the great Cato's son, and L. Cassius, brother of the deceased general. Had it not been for the generous behaviour of his friend Lucilius, who deceived the Thracians of the triumviral army, that were in pursuit of Brutus (g), he must have been taken prisoner, which to him would have been the greatest of misfortunes; for he had always declared, let what would happen, conquer or not, he hoped to continue free, thereby giving to understand, that in case of a defeat, he did not intend to live. Accordingly he killed himself the night after the battle, not without expressing some regret for having followed that party, which appeared to him the most virtuous, but not the most fortunate (h). His body was brought to Antony, who ordered it to be burnt with all funeral honours, and the ashes to be carried to his mother Servilia. Octavius, on the contrary, having caused the head of Brutus to be brought to him, gave directions for its being conveyed to Rome, and there laid at the feet of Cæsar's statue. It was by his orders, and in

The second
battle of
Philippi.

Death of
Brutus.

(g) The particulars are too interesting to be omitted. Lucilius observing a body of Thracian horse making towards Brutus, resolved to save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. When the Thracians came up, he told them that he was Brutus, and desired they would carry him to Antony. The Thracians were at first overjoyed with their prey, but grew afterwards enraged at the disappointment, when Antony knew the prisoner, who had passed himself upon them for Brutus. Antony taken with the virtue and generosity of Lucilius, satisfied the Thracians easily, by declaring they had brought him a better booty than Brutus; at the same time he embraced Lucilius, who, from that time, continued inviolably attached to his interest.

(h) Dio relates, that when Brutus in the morning saw no way of escaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a solid good; but thou art only a mere notion, a vain, empty name, or at best, a slave of fortune!* which is elegantly expressed by *Alciatus in Emblematis*:

*Jam jam stridentis moribunda in pectora ferrum,
Audaci hos Brutus pretulit ore sonos:
Infelix virtus, & solis provida verbis,
Fortunam in rebus tur sequeris dominam?*

his

Cruelty of
Octavius.

his presence, that all the prisoners of the first rank were murdered in cold blood : and it has been observed, that before those illustrious unfortunates were put to death, he abused them with the most insulting language. Antony, though in many respects a kind of monster, acted a noble part at that time, if compared to Octavius, who was afterwards the delight of mankind, under the name of Augustus. If we examine more minutely into the matter, Octavius's conduct was ever directed by one and the same motive, namely, the thirst of power. In order to attain his end, he would commit the most barbarous action with the same insensibility as the most noble : thus he behaved with cruelty at the time of the proscription, and after the battle of Philippi, because it was his interest to put all the zealous republicans to death ; but he acted with generosity as soon as he attained to the supreme power, because he well knew, that this was only to gain the hearts of the people.

End of the
republican
party.

Tacitus justly observes, that after the death of Brutus and Cassius, the republic was no more. It is true, that Messala appeared at the head of a corps of fourteen thousand men, the remains of the army that had been defeated at Philippi : but thinking it his duty no longer to contend with fortune, he went over to the triumvirs ; and the whole navy having assembled at the same time in the Ionian sea, under the command of Murcus and Domitius, these two commanders quarrelled. The latter, ambitious of having the chief authority, continued upon the coast, in order to make his own fortune ; while the former, out of pure zeal for the republic, surrendered his ships to Sextus Pompeius, whose intentions, in the main, were not much honester than those of Domitius.

Antony and
Octavius
part.

Antony and Octavius enter into a new division of the provinces of the empire, in prejudice to Lepidus. This triumvir was to expect no share in their authority, as he had not been concerned in their victories. Antony passed over to the East with six legions and ten thousand horse, in order to establish the triumviral power in those parts ; but Octavius returned to Italy, with an intent to distribute the rewards which had been long promised to the veterans.

712.

Octavius
meets with
great diffi-
culties in the
distribution
of the lands.

This commission, though less honourable than that of Antony, was attended with more real advantages ; since it gave an opportunity to Octavius to reside in Italy, and to make sure of the gratitude and affection of the troops : but at the same time it was extremely odious. He had undertaken to eject the inhabitants of the best provinces out of their estates and possessions, and to bestow them upon the veterans ; this being the surest method the triumvirs could find to perform the promises they had made to their troops. Such a tyrannical proceeding occasioned an universal outcry ; but Octavius was deaf to complaints. He granted however some mitigation to persons of noble birth, or to such as had been strongly recommended to him ; of which number was the celebrated poet Virgil, who expresses his acknowledgment in his first eclogue,

eclogue, where he extols Octavius to the skies, only for not having robbed him of the little farm, which he inherited of his ancestors.

War of Perugia, occasioned by Fulvia, Antony's wife. This audacious woman had gained the same ascendant over her brother-in-law, the consul Lucius Antonius, as she formerly had had over Antony her husband. Lucius engaged in this war at her request, without any view or motive; yet he pretended to oppose the distribution of lands, because there was a possibility, he said, to reward the soldiers without proceeding to this extremity. He even would boast, that he intended to abolish the triumvirate: but such noble designs cannot be attributed to a man remarkable for vanity, and who, pursuant to the general testimony of historians, had all his brother's vices, without the least mark of virtue; which is more than can be said of Antony. Fulvia had the impudence to make an incestuous attempt upon her son-in-law Octavius; but the young triumvir rejected her proposal, and at the same time divorced her daughter, declaring, that for him she was still a virgin. Antony's proud wife would fain be revenged of both these affronts: and this was the real motive of the war; but the pretext was the public good. It was called the war of Perugia, from the scenes transacted in that unfortunate city. Lucius having shut himself up in this place, was besieged by Octavius, and obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and just as the town was delivered up to be plundered, an unforeseen accident reduced it to (b) ashes. Fulvia retired into Greece, whither Antony repaired at her request: but she met with so cold a reception, that this, together with her other uneasinesses, threw her into a fit of illness, of which she died. Lucius was sent into Spain by Octavius, with the title of proconsul, but without any authority. The destruction of Perugia, and the facts subsequent thereto, fall under the next year.

This very year Antony had fallen in love with Cleopatra the Egyptian queen, so celebrated for the charms of her person, which she prostituted to her ambition. This woman was a down right Proteus: she had first seduced the eldest son of Pompey; she pretended next to have been seduced by Cæsar; at length she behaved like a lewd courtesan to Mark Antony; and in each of those characters she shewed her great address. Pompey's son, at the time his father sent him into Egypt, was a raw unexperienced youth, consequently not so liable to plunge into vice of his own inclination, as to be led astray by bad company. Cæsar was as ambitious of the conquest of a woman, as of that of a province: and Antony was a drunken debauched soldier. Cleopatra having been informed of this general's character, thought herself sure of success: she set out triumphant from Alexandria her capital, and arrived at Tarsus, whither

(b) One Cestius, surnamed *Macedonicus*, from having served a long time in Macedonia, not caring to survive the ruin of his country, set fire to his house, and thereby occasioned the total destruction of that ancient city.

she had been summoned by Antony, to give an account of her conduct. Her entry into this town was magnificent: decked with every ornament that the fancies of poets and painters lend to Venus, and attended by a numerous retinue, she sailed up the river Cydnus, in a stately galley, richly gilt, and decorated with purple sails. Over the couch, on which she lay negligently reclined, hung a canopy bespangled with gold stars; the graces formed an agreeable group around her person; cupids kept fanning her with their wings; while nereides burnt excellent perfumes, and formed a concert of melodious instruments. So pompous an equipage drew the citizens all out of the town to meet her, so that Antony, who was distributing justice in the forum, saw his tribunal on a sudden deserted. He was not offended with the ceremony; for he had permitted the like reception to be given to himself in several towns, and among the rest at Ephesus, where the women dressed themselves in the habits of priestesses of Bacchus, the men and children appeared like sauns and satyrs, and all the inhabitants went in procession to meet him, proclaiming aloud that he was a second Bacchus, gracious and benevolent like that jolly deity. Antony was now pleased with the flattery of his courtiers, who told him that Venus was come to join with Bacchus for the prosperity of Asia. The very same evening he went to sup with the Egyptian queen; and from that time forward they passed their days and nights in the most shameful revels. Cleopatra did not return to Egypt till she had obtained of the triumvir the full establishment of her authority, by the murder of her sister Arsinoë, the only person that could give her any umbrage; for she had taken care to get rid of her brother immediately after the death of Cæsar. Antony could not bear to live without her; therefore instead of marching against the Parthians, who threatened Syria with an invasion, he followed her to Alexandria, and there lay immersed in pleasure, till the situation of affairs in Italy roused him out of his lethargy.

Antony
spends the
winter with
her at
Alexandria.

713.

Quarrel
between
Antony and
Octavius.

Antony
arrives in
Italy, and
lays siege to
Brundisium.

He had taken umbrage at the conduct of the young triumvir Octavius, who had gained such an ascendent over his colleague Lepidus, that with a single word he prevailed on him to quit Italy, and go over to Africa with six legions, which were suspected of being in Antony's interest. Octavius had forty under his command, but Antony was superior to him in naval forces, especially since he had been joined by Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was tired of beating about the seas. With this reinforcement he appeared before Brundisium, and being refused admittance, he laid siege to the town: at the same time Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had entered into a correspondence, made a descent upon Italy. Octavius advances at the head of his troops, with a design to force Antony's lines. This quarrel, which seemed to portend a bloody war, ended suddenly in a marriage between Antony and Octavia, sister to Octavius. The friendship between the two triumvirs was cemented by this marriage, which

had

had been brought about by Mecænas, Pollio, and Cocceius Nerva: Antony and by the same treaty the Eastern part of the empire was allotted to Octavius Antony, and the west to Octavius; Africa was left to Lepidus; and it was agreed that Antony should make war upon the Parthians, and Octavius upon Pompey. This son of Neptune (for so the Romans he was pleased to stile himself on account of his maritime power) distressed Octavius to that degree, that the latter thought it prudent, towards the beginning of this year, to try all possible means of coming to an accommodation with him. For which reason Mecænas was charged to propose a match between the young triumvir, and Scribonia sister to Libo, who was Sextus's father-in-law. The match, though not the peace, was concluded.

Balbus and Canidius are nominated consuls in the room of Pollio and Domitius. The next year, in order to avoid displacing the consuls in this manner, the triumvirs thought proper to confer this dignity only for a few months; so that when they appointed consuls, they likewise nominated those who were to succeed them: but they who began the year, gave it their name, and for this reason were called *ordinary consuls*; the others were stiled *substitute* or *petty consuls*: this method was observed under the emperors.

The consul Balbus was by birth a Spaniard; and the first foreigner that had ever been invested with the supreme magistracy at Rome. So great a confusion prevailed among all orders of people, that one Vibius Maximus, who had been nominated to the quaestorship, was claimed by a private person as his slave, and obliged to return to his master; another slave was thrown down the Tarpeian rock, because his name had been found in the list of the legionary troops.

Pollio and Domitius, of whom we have just now made mention, were sent, at the expiration of their office, the one against the Parthians, a people of Illyricum, who had declared for Brutus in the last war, and the other against the Cerretani in Spain: they both deserved the honour of a triumph, but Pollio is more famous for his literary merit, than for this triumph.

The Falcidian law, so called from the name of its author, P. Falcidius (b) the tribune. It ordained that the fourth part of every tellator's

(b) This shews the ridiculous etymology of the *Glossa ad princ. Inst. de lege Falcidia*; *Falcidia sic dicta, quod ut falx scænum, sic & lex legata refecat*. The law of the twelve tables granted full liberty to the Romans to bequeath their estates as they pleased, *Uti quisque legasset suæ rei, ita jus esto*: this liberty was afterwards abridged in favour of the testators themselves, because the next heir receiving little or no benefit from the will, refused to administer. To remedy this inconveniency the *lex Furia* and *lex Voconia* were made. The author of the former was C. Furius tribune of the people: it ordained that no person should give, by way of legacy, above a thousand *asses*. The author of the latter was Q. Voconius Saxa, likewise tribune of the people: it ordained that no woman should be left heiress to an estate; and that no *census*, that is, no person that was rated high in the *censors* books, should give more to any person whatever, than was coming to the next heir. But these two laws were still insufficient for the purpose intended, which was to prevent the decay of noble families; because though the *lex Furia* really restrained the quantity of

testator's effects should go to the next heir; this was called *Quarta Falcidia*.

Herod made
king of Ju-
dæa.

Herod son of Antipater, by birth an Idumean, receives of the Romans the title of king of Judæa, which Pompey had refused to grant to Hyrcanus, who had an hereditary right to that crown. He was come this year to Rome, to petition for succours against the Parthians, who had made themselves masters of Judæa, and settled Antigonus on that throne. This Antigonus was head of the branch at enmity with Hyrcanus, whom they had taken prisoner.

714.

Disturbances
in Rome for
want of corn.

Great disturbances at Rome, owing to the scarcity of provisions to which that capital and all Italy was reduced by Pompey's fleet, which infested the whole coast. The people laid the blame upon the triumvirs, who maintained the war against Pompey, only to satisfy their private ambition. Octavius is in great danger at a popular insurrection: Antony comes to his assistance, and rescues him out of the hands of the rioters; upon which a great slaughter ensues. Octavius having in vain endeavoured to recover the affection of the populace, agrees at length to treat with Pompey, who came into the accommodation not without some difficulty, from a notion that the longer he stood out, the more advantageous conditions he was likely to obtain. At length he yielded to the violent importunity of a great number of illustrious citizens, who had fled to him for shelter, and were desirous of returning to their native country. Pompey aiming at the triumvirate in conjunction with Antony and Octavius, proposed it to them at their first interview; but they would by no means consent to accept of so enterprising a colleague, in the room of the indolent Lepidus. He was therefore obliged to be satisfied with the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to which was added Achaia, with a promise of granting him the consulate, the dignity of augur, and seventy millions of sesterces (eight millions seven hundred and fifty thousand livres) to be restored to him out of his father's estate. In regard to the proscribed persons and those citizens who had fled from Rome, they were reinstated in all their rights and privileges, and allowed to enjoy part of

The trium-
virs come to
an accom-
modation
with Pom-
pey.

of the legacy, yet it did not limit the number of the legatees, so that the testator might dispose of his effects among so many, as to leave nothing for the next heir: and though the *Pœconia lex* was more favourable to the next heir than the preceding, yet because the testators, by multiplying the number of the legatees in proportion to their estate, might happen to leave but a small matter to each, the next heir would reap but a very little benefit, and therefore would not administer. For this reason the *lex Falcidia* forbade the testator to dispose of above three fourths of his estate in legacies, to the end that the fourth part of the succession might devolve to the next heir. The words of the law are these: *Quicumque civis Romanus post hanc legem rogatum testamentum faciet, is quantam cuique civi Romano pecuniam jure publico dare legare volet, jus potestasque esto, dum ita detur, legetur, ne minus quam partem quartam hereditatis ex testamento heredes capiant.*

their

their estates; the slaves enlisted under his banner were to have their liberty; and his soldiers were promised the same rewards as had been granted to those of the trimmivirs after the usual time of service: the whole upon condition that he would receive no more fugitive slaves, nor increase his naval force; that he should pay annually the corn which was due to the republic out of the islands ceded to him; and that instead of infesting the coast of Italy, he should clear the seas of all pirates.

The three chiefs celebrate the peace by agreeing to treat each other. The trium-
Pompey entertains his guests on board his ship, telling them, that this was the only family seat he had left. He generously rejects the
virs and Pompey
treat each
other.
advice of Menas his freedman, who in the midst of their jollity whisper-
pered him in the ear, proposing to cut the cable, and then he should
become master, not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole
Roman empire: *this you should have done without imparting it to me,* Pompey's
answered Pompey; *but now let us make the best of our present condition: I* generosity.
cannot violate my oath.

Antony leaves Italy for a very odd fancy; namely, because in di-
verting himself in drawing lots, in playing at dice, and at other games
of chance, with Octavius, he was constantly the loser. An Egyptian
astrologer, who perhaps was planted there on purpose by Cleopatra,
told him that this was an evident omen of the superiority which this
rival would gain over him, so long as he did not keep himself at a di-
stance. He goes and spends the winter at Athens. The inhabitants
of this city, equally famous for flattery and wit, treated him as a se-
cond Bacchus, and carried their nonsense so far as to desire he would
marry Minerva, the tutelar deity of their city. Antony took them at
their word, but asked them a thousand talents for the portion of their
goddess, and obliged them to pay the money (A).

Antony goes
to Greece.

715.

He marches against the Parthians. The advantages which his lieu-
tenant Ventidius had gained over that nation the preceding year, began
to make him jealous of that captain's glory. Ventidius had defeated
them twice successively; the first time on mount Taurus, the se-
cond on mount Amanus: and before Antony's arrival, he obtained a
decisive victory, wherein Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians,
was slain. In return for so many exploits, he received the honour of
a triumph at Rome; which is very remarkable: for he himself had
been formerly led in triumph through that city by Pompeius Strabo,
at the time of the war of the allies; and it is thought he was son of one
of their chiefs. Antony returned to Athens, without performing any
other exploit, than obliging Antiochus king of Comagena to pay
His lieute-
nant Venti-
dius obtains
three victo-
ries over that
nation.
Antony
returns to
Greece.

(A) One of the Athenians made answer, *Your father Jupiter required no fortune with your mother Semele. It is true,* replied Antony; *but Jupiter was rich, and I want money.*

G g

him

him three hundred talents, in order to save his capital Samosata. The Romans had laid siege to it, on account of the great number of Parthians who had taken shelter there after their last defeat.

Octavius
marries
Livia.

Octavius repudiates his wife Scribonia, the very day she was brought to bed of Julia; and marries Livia, who is ceded to him by her husband Tiberius Nero, though she was then six months pregnant. This would be a matter of surprize, did we not know that the laws were held then in such contempt, that this very year there were no less than sixty seven prætors, all created and successively set aside, according to the caprice of the triumvirs: nay the senate were obliged to pass a decree to prevent any member of that once respectable body from appearing upon the stage as a gladiator. This infamous practice was only suspended; for it disgraced the reigns of several emperors.

New breach
between
Octavius
and Pompey.

Quarrel betwixt Pompey and Octavius, owing to the desertion of Menas the freedman, who being offended with his master for suspecting his fidelity, revolted to Octavius, and joining him with sixty sail, delivered up the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, of which he had been made governor. Menas was claimed as a slave; Octavius refused to part with him; and being grown more enterprizing in proportion as his strength increased, he fitted out a fleet against Pompey. The first sea-fight in the bay of Cumæ, which does not prove decisive. Octavius is intirely defeated by Pompey, in another engagement near the rocks of Scylla; and the remains of his fleet are shattered and dispersed by a storm. He returns to Italy, and distributes his troops along the coast, to guard against an invasion, which Pompey neglected to attempt: this unpardonable conduct enabled Octavius to make new preparations of war.

Octavius
defeated by
Pompey in a
sea-fight.

The triumvirs continue themselves in their magistracy five years longer.

716.

Jerusalem
taken by
Herod.

Jerusalem is taken by Herod, with the assistance of Sosius, whom Antony had appointed governor of Syria, after the Parthians had been driven from thence by Ventidius. Antigonus, who shut himself up in this city, made a very gallant defence, having held out five months against eleven Roman legions, and all the Jews of the contrary party: Herod, after taking him prisoner, causes him to be whipped with rods and beheaded.

Agrippa de-
feats the
revolted
Gauls.

M. Agrippa, one of this year's consuls, had been raised to this dignity by Octavius, in return for the many services done him from his youth, and for the victories he had lately obtained as his lieutenant over the revolted Gauls. He might have had a triumph if he pleased; Octavius pressed him to accept of it; but Agrippa was too good a courtier to acquiesce: this would have mortified his general under the present circumstances. Gallus, the other consul, was a creature of Antony's; so that they divided the first dignities amongst their friends, without any regard to those of Lepidus.

Agrippa

Agrippa being commissioned by Octavius to equip a new fleet, builds the *portus Julius*, formed by the junction of the lakes *Lucrinus* (l) and *Avernus* (m) which were made to communicate with the sea. Nothing could be more magnificent than this harbour, whose capacity and situation afforded a safe reception to a vast number of ships, where they might be conveniently exercised to naval engagements (n). There is not the least vestige of it remaining, since it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1538, which has entirely changed the face of that country.

The Julian harbour built.

717.

Octavius had invited Antony and Lepidus to assist him in the war against Pompey. Lepidus came, but unfortunately for himself: he brought with him twelve legions, five thousand Numidian horse, a thousand transports, and seventy ships of war. Antony was satisfied with sending a hundred and twenty ships, commanded by Taurus, in exchange for which he received twenty thousand legionaries.

Antony and Lepidus assist Octavius against Pompey.

Octavius undertakes his Sicilian expedition on the first of July, a month which he looked upon as fortunate, being sacred to the memory of his adopted father; but a storm arising, his three fleets are driven back, and greatly damaged. Pompey hearing of this news, considers himself as the favourite son of Neptune, and exchanges the purple garment, worn by Roman generals, for a habit of a sea-green colour. In the mean time, Octavius is occupied in refitting his fleet, which is ready to put to sea again in thirty days. Agrippa obtains a considerable advantage over Pompey. Octavius, desirous of improving the opportunity to make a descent upon Sicily, is met at sea by Sextus, and his squadron is defeated. Agrippa makes himself master of Tyn-

Octavius prepares for war against Pompey.

Octavius defeated at sea by Pompey.

(l) The lake *Lucrinus* was in the neighbourhood of *Baie* in Campania. It was famous for oysters, as appears from Horace, epod. 11. *Non me Lucrinæ juverunt conchyliæ*. After the abovementioned earthquake this lake disappeared, and now there is a hill where it stood, to which the inhabitants give the name of *Monte nuovo di genere*.

(m) The *lacus Avernus* is near Pozzuolo in Campania, and computed to be about two miles long and one broad: it is now called *Lago d'Averno* and *Lago di Tripergola*. There was formerly a wood in this neighbourhood, as appears from Virgil, *Æn.* 3. *Divinsque lacus et Avernus sonantia sylvis*; but it is supposed to have been cut down by Agrippa, when he made the *portus Julius*, which is agreeable to Strabo, lib. 5, *ὡς δὲ τῆς ὑλῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀέρον νομιστοῦς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππας*. Lucretius thinks it took its name from the pestilential quality of its waters, *quas aves transvolare non possent*.

Principio, quod Averno vocantur, nomen id ab re

impositum est, quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis. Lib. 6.

(n) The places where the Romans exercised their ships for naval engagements, as well as the exercise itself, were called *Naumachiae*. They owe their origin to the time of the first Punic war, when the Romans first initiated their men in maritime affairs. In process of time they were designed for entertainment and show, as well as to increase their naval discipline.

Pompey's
fleet intirely
defeated.

daris (o), and thereby opens a passage into Sicily. Octavius lands on this spot with twenty one legions, and twenty thousand horse, an army more than sufficient, if he had only to contend with land forces. Pompey being sensible of this, challenges Octavius to put an end to their differences by a sea-fight. Octavius accepts the challenge, and Pompey's fleet is totally routed: the latter saves himself by flight, and abandons Sicily. This victory was intirely owing to the skill and ability of Agrippa. Three hundred sail on each side fought in the presence of two generals, who, together with their land forces, were bare spectators of the engagement. Octavius's soldiers being accustomed to land service, seemed to have the disadvantage in engaging the enemy at sea; but Agrippa had guarded against this inconveniency. By means of grappling irons of his own invention, he laid hold of the enemy's ships, and obliged them to come to boarding. No sooner had he taken a few by this stratagem, than the enemy finding their ruin inevitable, were seized with a panic, and fell into confusion. Out of so numerous a fleet, only seventeen gallees escaped, and Octavius lost but three of his.

Misunder-
standing
between
Octavius
and Lepidus.

Lepidus
deposed.

His
character.

Lepidus having come from the further end of Africa to assist Octavius in Sicily, wanted to reap the whole benefit of this expedition, founding his claim upon the inequality of the share which his colleagues had formerly allotted to him; and these pretensions he was preparing to maintain by arms. Octavius despised him, knowing he was despised by his troops; so that he did not so much as vouchsafe to draw his sword against him. He repaired to Lepidus's camp without an escort, as if he intended to have a conference; and having gained over his officers, the next day he drew up his army in order of battle, confident of what was to happen. The unfortunate Lepidus had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who went over to his rival. Upon which he quitted the marks of his authority, and waiting upon Octavius in this humble condition, he obtained the grant of his life, with orders to retire to Circei (p), a small town in Italy, which was assigned him for the place of his exile. There he passed the remainder of his days without any other dignity than that of Pontifex Maximus, which they could not take from him; and this was perhaps the most agreeable part of his life. Mankind are too much affected with outward pomp, not reflecting that happiness is generally confined to private stations, far from the tumult and hurry of business. Lepidus was contented with this retirement, which suited his natural temper; for he had ever been more desirous of repose than of power, having none of that active spirit which crowns the ambitious with success. Nay it is certain that he shewed an indifference in improving those circumstances to his advantage, which fortune threw in his way:

(o) Some call it *Tyndarium*; a town of Sicily, near the mouth of the river Helicon, not far from *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*.

(p) On the coast of Latium.

and Paterculus has good reason to say, that he no way merited the repeated favours of that blind goddess. No doubt but he had some abilities for war, since Cæsar had so great a friendship for him, that he was afterwards one of the principal persons belonging to the dictator's party; and Antony and Octavius had been obliged to let him have a share of the supreme power: but he had neither those virtues, nor those vices for which the names of men are transmitted with distinction to posterity.

Octavius puts most of the senators and knights to death, who had served under Pompey. A mutiny arises among his troops, who demanded their dismissal and their rewards: he discharges twenty thousand of the mutineers, and appeases the rest with promises and military presents. Agrippa is honoured with a rostral (q) crown of gold: we meet with no other instance of the kind before this time, except that of the learned Varro, who received the like crown in the war against the pirates. Octavius returns to Italy, and is received by the senate in full body at the gates of Rome, crowned with garlands by way of congratulation. They decree the most extravagant honours to him; but he accepts only of part. He abolishes the taxes laid during the civil wars; establishes a body of troops to exterminate the robbers that infested Italy; and embellishes the city of Rome with a great number of commodious and magnificent structures: lastly, he distributes among the veterans the lands that had been promised them, applying to this use only such estates as belonged to the republic, or had been purchased of private persons or of corporations. Steady to this political principle, he was endeavouring to make himself beloved, in proportion as his power increased: this indeed was very great, since he had absorbed that of Pompey and Lepidus; for he took care to transport troops over to Africa and Numidia, in order to seize on those provinces which constituted a part of that triumvir's division.

Antony, on the contrary, was weakening himself in the East by his misconduct. His passion for Cleopatra, which had given way for a while to his affection for Octavia, broke out again with greater vehemence. Eager to be in the arms of the queen of Egypt, he hurried the operations of the war against the Parthians, and heaped blunder upon blunder. He miscarried before Praaspa, a town of Media, which he attempted to seize, in order to open a passage for his troops into the enemy's country. The winter obliged him to march his army back again, after losing two legions, and all his military machines. In this retreat he met with many a disaster. The Romans, harassed by the enemy's cavalry, distressed by hunger and thirst, and exhausted by a long march over the mountains, died by thousands in the presence of

(q) This was called *corona navalis*, or *rostrata*; the flower work represented the beaks of galleys; and it was bestowed on such as had signalized themselves in a sea-fight: hence we read in Virgil, *Æn.* 8.

—Cui belli insigne superbum
Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.

their general. At length he reached Armenia, where reviewing his troops, he found he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse; the greatest part of whom perished through misery. Eight thousand also were destroyed by a forced march into Syria, where that general had engaged to meet Cleopatra. This princess had brought money and clothes with her for the Roman troops, in return for the present which Antony had made her this year, of Phœnicia, Coele-Syria, the isle of Cyprus, Cyrenaica, and several other provinces.

718.

Tragical end
of Pompey.

Tragical end of Sextus Pompeius. (This year's consul was of the same name, and of the same family, but of a different and distant branch.) His first design after his defeat, was to go and offer his service to Antony: but his ambition being soon excited by the misconduct of that general, and supported by the troops that flocked about him, he resolved to proceed to the East, and try his fortune against the triumvir. The attempt was too arduous: he was defeated and taken prisoner at the very time he was endeavouring to amuse Antony with a treaty. Marcus Titius, before whom he was brought, put him to death; whereby he incurred the hatred of the Romans to such a degree, that upon his attempting some time after, to exhibit public shows in Pompey's theatre at Rome, the people drove him away with hisses and imprecations. Pompey's memory was long dear to the Romans: they still revered the name, and this was almost all that seemed worthy of respect in the son. He was brave, but wanted many other qualities of Pompey the Great. He had neither the prudence, the experience, nor the abilities of his father. He had been deprived, when he was very young, of the counsels of that great man, and been exiled from his country by unrelenting fortune: this drove him into a course of life, that roughened his language, and soured his manners; not unlike to a plant, that degenerates for want of culture. Instead of a circle of senators and knights, with which Pompey the Great used to be surrounded, Sextus was attended by fugitive slaves, and freedmen, that had an ascendant over him, and whose company he preferred to that of the illustrious persons who sheltered themselves under his protection. In short, he seemed fitter to be, what he really was, a chief of pirates and banditti, than general of a Roman army.

His
character.

Octavius
wages war
against the
Japodes, &c.

Octavius wages war against the Japodes (r), the Pannonians (s), and the Dalmatians. These wars lasted three years, and ended very gloriously for him, as well on account of his success, as of the bravery he displayed on many occasions: they were also of great use to him, as they kept his troops in exercise, and prevented them from

(r) A people of *Illyricum*; Strabo calls them *Ἰάπυδες*; but Dion Cassius, and Ptolemy, *Ἰάπυδες*, *Japydes*.

(s) The inhabitants of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*.

thinking

thinking of mutiny and revolt. Out of the spoils taken in this war with the Dalmatians, he built a noble portico at Rome, which he enriched with an excellent library for public use, and gave it the name of his sister Octavia. About the same time a statue was erected to her by a decree of the senate, an honour which had been paid to Livia the wife of Octavius.

719.

In consequence of the agreement made heretofore between the two Antony triumvirs and Pompey, Antony was consul this year the second time, in conjunction with Libo Pompey's father-in-law. He enters into a league with the king of the Medes against the Parthians, and takes Artabazes king of Armenia in a treacherous manner. This behaviour he thought he could justify, because he had been betrayed himself by the Armenian the preceding year. Artaxias being chosen king in his father's stead, endeavours in vain to assist him: Antony obtains a complete victory over the son, and obliges him to fly into Parthia. After this he makes a conquest of Armenia, and celebrates the triumph in Alexandria. Thither he leads the captive king, who would never stoop to bend his knee to Cleopatra; a magnanimity which was the cause of his death. Antony subdues Armenia, And triumphs at Alexandria.

720.

But Antony was every day more and more bewitched by the artifices of that ambitious woman. He had set out for Syria, with a view to wage war against the Parthians. The commotions with which that empire was actually divided, and the reinforcement of cavalry which the king of the Medes had brought him, were new motives for his carrying on this enterprize with vigour. But hearing that Cleopatra was fallen into a deep melancholy at Alexandria, he flew back to her arms: not content with sacrificing to that lewd woman the virtuous Octavia, who was set out from Rome to join him, and whom he sent back with ignomy, he acknowledged Cleopatra for his lawful wife, and conferred on the two sons he had by her, the title of Kings of Kings. All this cost the artful Egyptian queen but a few crocodile tears and deceitful caresses. Antony is bewitched by Cleopatra, And sends back Octavia.

The celebrated adileship of Agrippa. This man, who was meanly born, but had genius and merit, shared the confidence of Octavius together with Mecenas. At that time they were his favourites: when he was sovereign of the whole empire, they became his ministers: and at all times they lived with him upon the terms of friendship. One of them was both a soldier and a statesman, and upon every occasion behaved with dignity and spirit. The other being only a politician, acted always with prudence and circumspection: he affected no outward pomp, but left his name to be celebrated by the literati, whom he loved and protected. Agrippa judged proper to accept of all the honours he deserved; so that he attained to the chief employments of the empire. Mecenas being a Roman knight by birth, was satisfied with that title: he wanted no places

Character of Agrippa and Mecenas.

nor dignities, but thought it sufficient to have it in his power to bestow them. Both these men contributed very much to the rise and grandeur of their friend. Agrippa made considerable improvements this year at Rome; such as several magnificent aqueducts (1), a hundred and fifty public fountains, seven hundred watering places, the whole adorned with three hundred statues and four hundred marble columns. The spectacles he gave were pompous in a high degree, and in a taste that shewed the politeness of the age. By this behaviour Agrippa reflected lustre on Octavius, and rendered himself most acceptable to the Romans; while Antony was hated and despised for his ungenerous treatment of Octavia, and his extravagant passion for Cleopatra.

721.

Antony and Octavius prepare for war.

And yet the consuls of this year were so devoted to Antony, that they retired from Rome to join him, as soon as they perceived that Octavius was preparing for war. Hitherto the two triumvirs had confined themselves to libels and invectives; but it was easy to foresee that this paper war would be followed by another of a more serious nature. The consul Domitius found Antony at Ephesus busy in making military preparations, that is, in giving orders; for instead of directing them himself, he retired with Cleopatra to the isle of Samos, which was now become the general rendezvous of comedians, mountebanks, and musicians, as Ephesus was that of the troops. From Samos they went to Athens, whence Antony signified his divorce to Octavia, with orders for her to quit his house; which induced several of his old friends to desert him. By a decree of the senate, Antony is deprived of the triumviral power, and of the consulate, to which he had been nominated for the following year in conjunction with Octavius. War declared against Cleopatra. Octavius out of policy would not have it said that he was renewing the horrid scenes of a civil war: besides, Cleopatra herself had in some measure declared war against the Romans, by accustoming herself to swear only by the laws, which she intended very soon to dictate in the capitol.

War declared against Cleopatra.

722.

Antony and Octavius resolve upon a fight at sea.

Antony had missed the favourable opportunity: he ought to have been before hand with Octavius, and to have attacked him the preceding year, while the several provinces subject to that triumvir's government were ready to revolt, on account of the heavy taxes with which he had loaded them, in order to forward his military prepara-

(1) The first invention of aqueducts is attributed to Appius Claudius in the year 441, who brought water into the city by a channel of eleven miles in length; but this was trifling when compared to those that were afterwards built in the times of the emperors. Several of these were cut through mountains for above forty miles together; and in some places the vaults and arches were 109 feet high. Some reckon the aqueducts but fourteen; others enlarge them to twenty: in the names of them the waters only were mentioned; as *Aqua Claudia*, *Aqua Appia*, &c.

tions,

tions. By Antony's supineness, Octavius had leisure to quiet their minds, and even to conciliate their affections to such a degree, that all Italy engaged by a solemn oath to serve him against his enemy. In pursuance hereof, in a very little time he saw himself master of an army of eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, with which he set sail from Brundisium, as soon as the weather permitted. True it is that Antony had a superior force, viz. twelve thousand horse, a hundred thousand foot, a great number of auxiliary troops, and a fleet of five hundred ships of war: but his ships were neither so light, nor so well manned, as those of Octavius. Yet he placed his whole confidence in his fleet, preferable to his land-forces. After they had sent challenges to each other, which could not be put into execution, but only proved the great eagerness of the two chiefs to decide the dispute about the sovereignty of the world, Antony resolved to try his fortune in a naval engagement (s).

The battle of Actium (t) on the fifth of September. The losses The battle which of Actium.

(s) The most considerable of the Roman ships of war were the *naves longæ*, or gallies, so called from their form, the most convenient for cutting their way; and of these the most remarkable were the *triremis*, *quadriremis*, and *quinqueremis*, exceeding one another by one bank of oars; which banks were raised slopingly one above another. Besides these, there were two other rates, one higher and the other lower. The higher are the *hexeres*, the *hepteres*, and the *octeres*, that is with six, seven, or eight banks; the lower are the *biremis* and the *moneris*. The *biremis* consisted of two banks of oars; and of these the best and lightest were called *Liburnicæ*, from the *Liburni*, a people of Dalmatia, who first invented them. The *moneris* was a galley having but one single bank of oars.

The larger ships, as the *quadriremis*, and upwards, had hatches, and therefore were called *testæ* or *constratæ*; the *triremis* and *biremis*, are sometimes described otherwise; all below these were without hatches, and therefore were called *apertæ*. The *naves rostratæ* were those that had *rostra* or beaks, necessary for all ships in sea engagements. *Naves turritæ* were such as had turrets erected on their decks, from whence the soldiers used all manner of weapons and engines. The officers in the navy were *præfektus classis*, or admiral, and sometimes the *duumviri*, when two were joined in commission together with the *trierarchus*, or captain of a particular ship, most properly of the *trireme*; the *gubernator*, or master; and the *celeustes*, or boatswain. The naval as well as the land army consisted of four legions. Under Augustus the Romans had one navy at *Misenum* (a sea-port town near the promontory now called *Capo di Miseno*) in the *Mare Inferum*, or Tyrrhene sea, to protect and keep in obedience France, Spain, Mauritania, Egypt, Sardinia, and Sicily; another at *Ravenna* in the *Mare Superum* or Adriatic, to defend and overawe Epirus, Macedon, Achaia, Crete, Cyprus, together with all Asia.

(t) *Actium* was a promontory of Epirus, famous for this naval victory of Augustus, in memory of which he built a city here, calling it *Nicopolis*, i. e. the city of victory, from the following incident. As he was going out of his tent early in the morning to visit his fleet, he met a peasant driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or superstition, he asked the man's name; who told him it was *Eutyches*, and that his ass was called *Nicon*. The first signifies *happy*, and the other *conqueror*. This seemed a lucky omen to him, and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and the other his ass. *Plut. in Ant.* Actium had been

The flight
of Cleopatra.

Antony is
intirely
defeated.

which Antony sustained in several skirmishes previous to this famous battle, the desertion of a great number of his friends and part of his troops, the bad condition of his fleet, which he was obliged to reduce to a hundred and sixty sail, and which nevertheless was neither well rigged nor well served, all this together seemed to forebode the misfortune which overwhelmed him at last. But Cleopatra would have a sea-fight, and Antony had no will but hers. This unhappy princess, terrified at the sight of an engagement of her own advising, runs away in the midst of it with sixty gallies, which she had brought from Egypt. Antony hears of her flight, and deaf to all counsel, is so weak as to follow her. His fleet abandoned by the commander in chief is defeated by Agrippa, who acted under Octavius; and most of his ships are taken. His soldiers who had beheld the combat and his flight, surrendered to the conqueror in seven days, after having waited in vain for Antony, who they imagined would come and put himself at their head. The clemency with which Octavius behaved towards the conquered does him honour, and is a mark of his good policy. He shewed his good sense, by considering his vanquished enemies as his subjects, whom it was his interest to save, now that the republican party was intirely destroyed. From thence he returned to Rome, on account of a mutiny of veterans, who were impatient to receive their promised rewards. In order to convince them, that it was impossible to satisfy their demands, he exposed his own effects, and those of his friends, to public sale: but at the same time to make the Romans taste the fruit of his victories, he released them from all new taxes.

723.

Uneasiness
of Antony
and Cleopatra.

It would be difficult to represent the anxious thoughts which tormented Antony's breast ever since the moment of his flight. Now he was sunk into the deepest melancholy, and now he abandoned himself to his usual excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly: one time he wanted to die; and another time he talked of nothing but his favourite pleasures: sometimes he would fly from Cleopatra, and the next moment he would turn back into her arms. This princess was not much easier in her mind. Seized with shame and despair, she resolved at first to go in search of some other place to settle out of the enemy's reach: with this view she put all her treasures on board her fleet, and gave orders for carrying it into the Red sea over the Isthmus of Suez. But Antony being apprized of this extravagant design, dissuaded her from it: and with joint consent they embraced the more generous resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity.

been famous before this time for the temple of Apollo, and the goodness of its harbour. Augustus likewise appointed the *Ludi Aëliaci*, or games in honour of *Apollo Aëlius*, to be kept here every five years in memory of this naval victory.

Antony

Antony having drawn together his shattered forces by sea and land, lays siege to Peritonium, an important town in Egypt, which had been lately seized by Gallus, Octavius's lieutenant; but he is repulsed with loss. On the other hand, Octavius appears before Pelusium, the key of Egypt on the eastern side, like Peritonium on the west; and the town is delivered up to him by the treachery of Cleopatra. From thence he advances towards Alexandria, which Antony pretends to defend to the last extremity; but just as he is entering upon action, he sees the Egyptian fleet desert all of a sudden to the enemy: his cavalry follows the example; and he tries in vain to bring his infantry to an engagement. Upon his return to town he is informed that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra: but the intelligence came too late. Antony resolves to defend himself to the last extremity. But is betrayed by Cleopatra.

This princess dreading his indignation, had shut herself up in a monument, and ordered a report to be spread that she had killed herself. Antony hearing of this, fell upon his sword, but did not expire immediately of the wound: being informed that Cleopatra was still alive, he caused himself to be carried to the monument, that he might breath his last gasp at her feet. If the fond blandishments of a woman are a sufficient token of her affection, Antony had reason to believe he died beloved by Cleopatra. But who can pretend to determine whether the grief which she expressed at seeing him expire in her arms, was the effect of love, or of natural pity? Such mournful objects must needs excite our compassion, were we only to reflect that mankind are all subject to the same vicissitudes. This makes me imagine that the tears which Octavius shed at the sight of Antony's sword, covered with blood, were sincere. He did not indeed lament his enemy's fate, but the misfortunes to which human nature is exposed. He gives himself a mortal wound, and is conveyed to Cleopatra, Expires in her arms.

Antony left seven children behind him. The two daughters, which he had by Octavia, were married; the eldest to Domitius Ahenobarbus, the youngest to Drusus; and by means of these alliances his posterity ascended the imperial throne. Of his descendants several were emperors, and among the rest Caligula and Nero, whose character no way resembled his. For Antony was of his own nature, neither wicked, nor cruel; though he committed some excesses through hurry of passion. He was frank and generous, and had a particular candour, which rendered him incapable of mistrusting those whom he considered as his friends. Perhaps he would have been more virtuous, if his country had been more so; but real virtue was banished from Rome, at the time when he appeared on the stage. He was a very debauched man in a very debauched age. He gave a free scope to his ambition, because the circumstances in which he was situated, were sufficient to flatter his most sanguine expectations. He formed vast designs, in consequence of his moving in a very high sphere. His birth, his opulence, and high preferments, prevented him from falling into obscurity, for which he seemed naturally designed. The simplicity, I may even say, the meanness of his disposition, would Antony's issue.

would have suited a much humbler station. Pomp and outward forms were such a constraint to his nature, that he would lay them aside whenever he had an opportunity; being always eager to mix with those profligates, who place their whole happiness in midnight revelry, and in frequenting public stews. He had the abilities of a great general, with the inclinations of a common soldier: he appeared with dignity at the head of an army, and made an excellent figure at a tavern or a guard-room. He demeaned himself most scandalously in several great cities, especially in Alexandria. Cleopatra made always one at his parties of pleasure; and though she had more sense, and a more delicate taste than he, yet she knew how to accommodate herself to his temper. Thus she subdued a man, by whom she expected to subdue the world. Antony knew not how to guard against female artifices: he had been ensnared before by Fulvia, and he was afterwards duped by Cleopatra. It was his fate to command one half of the Roman empire, to obey two wives, and to be foiled by a young man, not near so good a soldier as himself, but far his superior in art and policy.

Cleopatra
taken.

Cleopatra is taken alive in the monument, where she had shut herself up with her treasures. Octavius makes his entry into Alexandria, and pardons the inhabitants; but he orders Antyllus, Antony's eldest son, and Cæsarion, the son of Cæsar and Cleopatra, to be put to death. He gives leave to that princess to perform the funeral obsequies of Antony; at which mournful ceremony she is taken ill, and determines to end her days by abstinence. Octavius prevails upon her to alter her resolution, by uttering threats against her children: he likewise pays her a visit, and she exerts all her charms to inspire the young conqueror with sentiments of pity and love. But being apprized, that he intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, and that he had given orders that she and her children should be put on board a ship within three days, and conveyed by sea to Rome, she makes away with herself. It was judged, that she had applied an asp to her left arm; because of the several kinds of death of which she had made essays on criminals, she always looked upon this as the mildest, and least attended with pain. Octavius reduces Egypt to a Roman province, and appoints a prefect to govern it. He orders the tomb of Alexander to be opened, and strews the ashes of this conqueror with flowers. At length he departs from Egypt, after stripping it of an immense treasure, sufficient to reward the several companions of his fortune. From thence he proceeds to Asia, to establish his authority in person.

She
dispatches
herself.

Egypt
reduced to a
Roman
province.
Antony's
statues
demolished
at Rome.

At Rome all the statues of Antony are thrown down and broke to pieces by a decree of the senate, who ordained at the same time the day of his nativity to be ranked among the unlucky days. This decree was published under the consulate of Cicero's son, who held this office the present year from the thirteenth of September to the first of November, as substituted consul; a circumstance that has been observed

observed as a kind of attonement, which fortune was pleased to make to the manes of that great man, by stigmatizing the memory of Antony, who had been the author of his death.

Mecænas stifles a conspiracy formed against Octavius. For such an enterprize the ringleader young Lepidus, would have formerly received the applause of his fellow citizens; but in the present circumstances he was punished as a disturber of the public tranquillity. Mecænas stifles a conspiracy against Octavius. Octavius, Mecænas orders him to be executed; and his wife Servilia swallows burning coals, with an intent to follow him to his grave.

724.

Rome was in a state of perfect tranquillity, when Octavius returned to this city to celebrate the triumphs by which he was going to be proclaimed the supreme lord of the Roman empire. Octavius returns to Rome. The senate even before his arrival had passed a great number of decrees, the chief intent of which was to load him with honours, and to invest him with that absolute power, which the Romans had so long dreaded, though at present they felt the necessity of it, and in part its happy effects. The public authority being intirely lodged in the hands of a single person, there was no further reason to be afraid of those civil wars which had disturbed the tranquillity of the empire, and must have encouraged the attempts of those nations, that wanted to shake off the Roman yoke. The sweets of peace and plenty began to be generally tasted. With joy the Romans beheld the triumphs of Octavius, to whom they were indebted for those blessings; and with still greater transport they saw him shut the gates of the temple of Janus, which had been open ever since the commencement of the second Punic war. The temple of Janus. At Rome they conferred the title of *Imperator* or *emperor* on Octavius for ever: they likewise ordained that his name should be added to that of the senate and people in the public prayers and supplications. Octavius receives the title of Imperator, and Augustus. Games and spectacles were multiplied in honour to his memory. Temples and altars were erected to him in the provinces. The name of Augustus, which the senate bestowed on him some time after, was transmitted to his successors as a title of dignity, together with that of *Cæsar* his adoptive father.

PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE glorious days of Rome are over: this proud sovereign of the world is going to be loaded herself with chains.

I do not say this, because she is on the point of submitting to a monarchical government; but as she is falling under the oppressive yoke of despotic power.

In republics it may happen, and too often it does happen, that a private citizen becomes superior to the laws: in monarchies, no private person can be so powerful as the prince, who is the protector of the laws. In republics, the people are always anxious in pursuit of liberty;

liberty; which is rarely enjoyed in a well constituted monarchy. It may be really said, that providence has pointed out a monarchical government to all nations, and that human society is in a state of violence, till this system takes place: when once it is established, the ambition of the nobility is curbed, and they are obliged to approach the throne with awful reverence. A monarchical government, by giving a head to the state, grants a sure protection to the freedom and tranquillity of private citizens: were it to have no other advantage than this over a republic, I should think that of the two it is the most eligible. But when despotism lifts up its head, it annihilates all other ranks, and destroys every other existence.

There is no manner of doubt, but a despotic power was established among the Romans, even in the reign of the first emperors, if we consider that they fell under a military government. This seems to suppose a despotic power, for the same reason that despotism is supported by military authority. Arbitrary government being only the abuse of power, can have no other support but force; which chiefly resides in standing armies.

Should I be asked how came it to pass, that the Romans, though so intelligent a people, had the misfortune to fall under the yoke of despotic power, which seems to be one of the consequences of barbarism (*u*): I shall answer, that it appears evident from facts, that the Romans were as yet, in many respects, a barbarous nation. Let us view their public spectacles: are not they equally shocking to modesty and to every tender sentiment of humanity? It would be offering an affront to my readers, to suppose that they could bear the recital of the horrid scenes, which the Romans were wont to behold, I do not say, with indifference, but with transports of joy. Whoever has a curiosity of perusing these melancholy details, will find them in a thousand writers; they are monuments of wanton cruelty, and human depravity.

“The Romans, says M. de Montesquieu, being accustomed to
 “trample upon mankind, in the persons of their children and their
 “slaves, could know but very little of that virtue which we distinguish
 “by the name of humanity When a people are cruel in their
 “civil state, what can we think of their natural lenity and justice?”

We need not therefore be surprized to find that the first Cæsars, at the same time that they inherited the whole power of the Roman republic, should likewise be heirs to her cruelty; and that transported by this extravagant passion, they should make her most justly suffer for

(*u*) Should any one object the example of certain nations, such as the Chinese; who are said to be a very polite people, and yet do live under a despotic government: I shall answer, that in all probability their emperors follow this wise maxim, that in matters of authority, a prince ought to check his own power. Despotism does not consist so much in being vested with arbitrary power, as in the abuse of it; now this abuse will never take place in a civilized and virtuous nation;

the desolation and waste which she had so long diffused all over the earth.

But who is he that presumes to seize on the highest dignity, that mortal man can aspire to? He is but a raw youth; yet he prevails over statesmen of consummate experience: his birth is obscure; yet he undertakes to command those who gave laws to kings: he has hardly strength of constitution to be present at a battle; yet he is victorious over the most celebrated captains of the age: he is an usurper; yet he governs the empire of the Roman world, with as much ease and tranquillity, as if he sat upon a throne transmitted to him by a long line of princes. Reason is confounded when we look no farther: but we are perfectly satisfied, when we raise our contemplation to a sublimer object. Then it is that the designs of providence are conspicuously manifested. Rome had subdued the world; now she herself is subdued; and the earth in reverent silence waits for the commands of her lord and master. But soon on the banks of the Jordan is heard the voice of one crying, *prepare ye the way of the Lord*. These words have their proper effect: and before the end of the reign of Augustus, the Lord shall appear to give laws to nations, not by force and violence, like earthly princes; but by lenity, persuasion, and beneficence: a new and happy kind of conquest, which shall be continued to the end of time.



T H E

I N D E X.

THIS index refers to the years, and to the pages; to the former, for the series of the history; to the latter, for the remarks and for the facts contained in the columns. When you meet with figures without any other mark, they point out the year to which the subject belongs. In referring to the page, I have taken care to distinguish it by the letter *p*; but in referring to the year, I have marked it by the letter *y*.

As it was necessary to render this index complete, and at the same time concise, I have generally referred to the proper names of persons or of cities, with which the principal events are connected; and to each proper name of a person, I have added either the *prænomen* or *cognomen*, in order to obviate the confusion that might otherwise arise from the plurality of persons of the same name.

I have avoided the useless repetition of figures; so that when there are two separated by a bar—the reader is to suppose all the intermediate figures, as 315—19. look for 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. In like manner when the figures are all under the same century, I do not repeat the first. For example, when I mention 100, I continue 01. 02. 03. which stands for 101. 102. 103.

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